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THE LIFE AND MIRACLES

OF

ST WILLIAM OF NORWICH

BY

THOMAS OF MONMOUTH.

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THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. WILLIAM

FROM SCREEN IN LODDON CHURCH, NORFOLK

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. WILLIAM

FROM MEMOIR OF LYNDON CROSSFIELD, SCHOPLAR

THE LIFE AND MIRACLES

OF

ST WILLIAM OF NORWICH

BY

THOMAS OF MONMOUTH.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, AND
NOTES

BY

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HONORARY CANON OF NORWICH;
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PREFACE.

THE Editors of this volume have found the labour involved in its production, and the amount of time and research which it has cost them, much greater than they anticipated when they first entered upon their task: but they have found their reward in the absorbing interest of the subject, which has increased upon them in the course of their investigations.

The long-lost Life of St William of Norwich is a unique contribution to English Hagiography, and indeed to Hagiography in general: it is the starting-point (and this should be carefully noted) in the history of the myth of Jewish ritual murders. Its importance, moreover, as an original document illustrating the religious history of England in the twelfth century is not likely to be overlooked or underrated.

There are some subordinate matters which the Editors at one time hoped that they might be able to work out with more elaboration than they have been able to bestow upon them. Such are the origin of the obscure custom of compelling certain penitents to wear iron rings on the arm or leg[1], the observance of Maundy Thursday as a 'dies absolutionis[2],' and the persistence of certain popular beliefs, such, for example, as that illustrated in Book V. c. 3. They have, however, thought it advisable to leave to others the elucidation of these points. Specialists may perhaps be able to deal with them satisfactorily.

Such errors as they have discovered in the text and translation have been noted in the table of *Corrigenda*. It is to be feared, however, that some blunders have survived.

[1] See Bk. I. c. 2, etc.
[2] See Bk. I. cc. 5, 6.

Conscious as the Editors are of their own shortcomings, they ask for no more and no less than fair indulgence at the hands of critics duly qualified to pronounce upon the quality of their work.

For the translation of the first three books Dr Jessopp is mainly responsible: and for that of the last four, Dr James. The footnotes, which are principally concerned with points of East Anglian history, and demanded a somewhat intimate acquaintance with Norfolk topography and family history, are the work of Dr Jessopp.

The reader will find the authorship of the several chapters of the Introduction indicated in the Table of Contents.

On one matter of no great importance, and on one alone, has any difference of opinion arisen between the Editors. Perhaps the readers of this volume will also be found to disagree among themselves on this point[1].

The Editors have to express their cordial thanks to those friends who have given them the benefit of their counsel and co-operation. Mr Hudson's note, appended to the fourth chapter of the Introduction, will speak for itself. Miss Florence Colman has most kindly contributed a photograph of a painting of St William, one of a series of panels from the screen formerly in St James's Church, Norwich. To the Syndics of the University Press, both Editors and readers owe special acknowledgement. It is at their risk and at their expense that the volume has been published and issued in such an attractive form. Not less praise is due to the staff of the Press for their pains and patience.

A. J.
M. R. J.

[1] See Introd. pp. x, lxxiii.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THOMAS OF MONMOUTH.

THE writer of the following book gives no account of his own early life or parentage, nor do we know anything more of him than may be gathered from the book itself. He calls himself Thomas Monemutensis, or Thomas of Monmouth, and he first appears as one of the monks in the great monastery which Herbert of Losinga had founded at Norwich at the close of the 11th century, when, as he tells us, a vision appeared to him in the early morning p. 116 of Tuesday, in the first week of Lent, 1150.

It is at first sight difficult to understand how a Monmouth man should have found his way to so distant a part of the country as Norwich. But it is noticeable that it was a few years before this that Geoffrey of Monmouth had established a school, which soon became famous, at Llandaff, and that it was apparently in the autumn of 1147 that he issued the final draught of his famous *Historia regum Britanniæ.*

The publication of this edition must have brought Geoffrey to consult with his literary friends and patrons in England, and it is far from improbable that our Thomas may have been one of the scholars who accompanied their master when that master was looking out for the preferment, which he evidently was bidding for when he addressed his *Vita Merlini* to Robert Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1149. Geoffrey himself was consecrated Bishop of St Asaph, at Lambeth, in February 1152. Thomas had already before this time been admitted a monk at Norwich. He had certainly received a scholar's training in his youth; his Latinity is correct and fluent; it is less crabbed and pretentious than that of Geoffrey; he was familiar with the Latin poets; he quotes

Vergil and Horace, seems to have read the *Thebais* of Statius and could fortify himself with scraps of other classical writers; his allusions indicate quite a wide range of study for the times in which he lived; he had the Vulgate at his fingers' ends, he delights in drawing upon the lives of the saints afterwards comprehended in the *Legenda Aurea;* I am inclined to believe that he was acquainted with Jonas' life of S. Columban of Luxeuil, and he was certainly a diligent reader of Gregory of Tours. It is not too much to say that in writing the life of the boy saint of Norwich he must have had Gregory's books at his elbow and freely used them for his own purposes[1].

It is to be noted that all the incidents related in the first two books are confessedly reported on hearsay evidence, from whence we must infer that Brother Thomas was admitted into the monastery during the time that Elias was prior (1146—1150). All this time the story of the martyrdom had made very little way. The Rose had bloomed in the winter of 1144–5. Next spring the man Lewin saw his vision away there in the fens; but the Norwich people had taken so little notice of the story of the martyrdom that they had almost forgotten it. The Easter Synod
p. 71 met again in 1145 and Godwin Sturt got up to make a speech once more[2]. This time it is evident that he produced no impression. Nay! I suspect that Brother Thomas' silence indicates that the priest was listened to with jeers and ridicule. Then, however, he and Lewin played into one another's hands and Lewin's son was cured by a miracle. Even so, nobody seems to have paid much attention to the matter. The man went home with his boy and we hear no more of him. Then came another vision which again Thomas tells on hearsay: he does not venture to give the name of the girl from Mulbarton; what he expressly
p. 78 calls the first notable miracle is again given from the report of others. At last the story of the hysterical young lady at Dunwich attracted attention and we are told that "the memory of the

[1] The story of the prisoner whose fetters fell off (p. 13) is derived from this work, Lib. I. c. 33 and Lib. III. c. 47; the efficacy of the candles presented at the shrine, Lib. I. c. 34, II. c. 2; the remedial virtues of the scrapings of the tomb, Lib. I. c. 37, II. c. 1, IV. 25; the deliverance of the sailors from shipwreck, Lib. I. c. 9; the picking and stealing from the shrine, Lib. I. c. 14, c. 28. It is however unnecessary to multiply instances. Gregory's work is a repertory of similar stories and it is evident that the monk Thomas took that work as his model.

[2] This is the only way which suggests itself to me of explaining the confusion in the narrative at this point. Dr James takes a different view. See *infra*.

blessed martyr revived, for *it had gradually been waning, yea, in the hearts of nearly all it had well-nigh entirely died out.*"

It was just at this point that the outrageous assassination of the Jew Eleazar by the followers of Sir Simon de Novers brought on a crisis. The Jews demanded that the crime should be punished and laid their charge before the king during one of his visits to Norwich. Bishop Turbe acting in the interest of the accused, who p. 99 was one of his own *mesne tenants*, took up the defence with great energy, and in answer to the claim for redress he brought up again the case of the boy William, who, he affirmed, had been murdered by the Jews five years before, and he demanded that justice should be done in the earlier case before any enquiry were proceeded with in the second. If Thomas had himself been present he would certainly have told us so. On the contrary he calls his account of the trial before the king *conjecturalis causa.* It seems to me that this elaborate report of the speech for the defence was drawn up by Bishop Turbe himself. It is a mere specimen of the ordinary rhetorical exercise.

With this the second book ends, and when the third book begins we find ourselves in the year 1150 with Elias still prior of the monastery and Brother Thomas one of the monks, and a most entire partisan of the bishop and supporter of the story of the martyrdom. Six years had passed since the first Synod, and the story so far from gaining any general acceptance had been discredited by all but a very few. There lay the body of the murdered boy in the monks' cemetery, but the excitement had long ago ceased, and every attempt to create a belief in the reality of the martyrdom had failed. Prior Elias steadily set himself against making capital out of what he evidently regarded as a mere imposture; the bishop and his satellite, however, were not to be gainsaid.

On Tuesday, in the first week in Lent 1150, Brother Thomas saw his first vision. The great founder appeared to him and p. 116 gave him two messages to deliver, one to the bishop and the other to the prior, ordering them to arrange for the removal of 'the Martyr' to a worthier resting place: he was to be laid in the Chapter House in a place of honour. The prior's health was by this time failing, the bishop was as importunate and resolute as ever; Elias reluctantly gave way. The body was placed in the new tomb; and it looks suspiciously as if some trick had been played whereby the grave was not dug deep enough and conse-

quently the slab that covered the stone coffin stood above and floor of the Chapter House. But when Thomas presumed to take too much upon himself he was promptly reproved for his impertinence, and it required another vision to bring about the fixing a light upon the tomb which signified that extraordinary respect was due to the memory of the dead. Just then Prior Elias died, and was succeeded by Richard de Ferrariis, himself a zealous upholder of the martyrdom and a staunch supporter of Thomas and the bishop. After this the *cultus* of the saint began to spread with amazing rapidity, and when Prior Richard, not content with the saint's body being left in the Chapter House determined that it should be once more taken up and placed in the Cathedral, and when Bishop Turbe warmly seconded him, and with a pompous function and ceremony St William was carried from the cloister and
p. 188 laid by the side of Bishop Herbert's own tomb near the high altar, there was at last a great outburst of enthusiasm. Miracles and visions began to occur from week to week, until the crowds that came to make their offerings at the shrine were found to be a
p. 220 serious inconvenience, and on the 5th of April, 1154, just ten years after the discovery of the body in Thorpe Wood, the last removal took place, viz. to the chapel formerly called the Chapel of the Holy Martyrs, and subsequently, as it appears, the Jesus Chapel. Of any subsequent removal we have no record, but the chapel of St William in later times is found on the northern side of the screen which Bishop Lyhart erected in the 14th century, and the remains of that altar may be seen at the present day.

The general acceptance of the story of the martyrdom and the recognition of St William as a real saint undoubtedly date from the time of his removal into the Cathedral. After this the Norfolk gentry began to vie with one another in offering their homage at the new shrine, and all classes followed their lead. It is only necessary to glance at the names of the local magnates to see that quite a *furore* existed at the end of King Stephen's reign in favour of the boy saint. Norfolk by this time proudly claimed him as her own. The cult was firmly established in East Anglia before the 12th century closed and how the story spread, was borrowed from, plagiarised, and continued to exercise its influence upon the popular beliefs and superstitions of men even in far distant countries must be dealt with by another.

* * * * * *

Our readers will expect some expression of opinion upon the

serious question of the credibility of the story and the good faith and honesty of Brother Thomas.

One fact seems certain, namely, a boy's dead body was found in Thorpe Wood on the 24th March, 1144. How it got there, p. 26
there is not a particle of evidence to show. When Henry de Sprowston found the corpse he first wished to take it to Sprowston and get it buried in the churchyard, but he changed his mind and buried it where he found it.

Godwin Sturt, the priest, now appears upon the scene, and p. 38
through his instrumentality the corpse is recognised as the body of his wife's nephew. On his telling his wife of the discovery, she has at once a vision to relate, about which she had never said a word till now. Everything follows intelligibly enough, and I must needs p. 40
add suspiciously enough: the evidence of the Jew's servant is wholly incredible, and one cannot but think invented years later. The testimony of the Jew, Theobald, is obviously a fabrication, and the same must be said of the information asserted to have been given by Sir William Hastings. It is incomparably more p. 95
probable that Hastings never said anything of the sort; more credible in fact that Brother Thomas lied in giving him the credit of this astounding assertion, than that the Jews should quite gratuitously have borne this damning witness against themselves and volunteered a confession so suicidal. Almost equally improbable, or at any rate very suspicious, is the story of Ælward Ded; the story of the birds that would not settle on the body is obviously borrowed from an incident in Jonas' *Life of St Columban*, p. 33
§ 27.

On the other hand, it is certain that Brother Thomas did not invent the story; it was current when he first became a monk at the priory. The priest Godwin was, one cannot help suspecting, the originator of the accusation and he comes out of it very badly. He not only got hold of the *teazle*, which he affirmed was the p. 192
very instrument with which the Jews had tortured their victim, but he made merchandise of it for years, playing upon the credulity of simple people to extort money from them.

Robert, the martyr's brother, became a person of consideration by reason of his relationship with the saint, and the same may be said of his mother Elviva.

When we come to look into the character of Brother Thomas again, we find it very far from blameless. He appropriated candles, p. 140
and assures us he forgot all about them; he stole the martyr's

p. 174 shoe and hid it away; he filched his teeth and told lies about
p. 175 them. Only when somebody else was informed of his pilferings in a vision did he go any way towards making restitution. There is some reason for suspecting that he got his office of sacrist[1] to the martyr by revelation, and there is only one hint of his having been promoted to any of the more important offices in the priory[2], though at the time his book was written he had been member of the convent for more than 20 years. That indicates pretty clearly that he was not trusted by the brethren, and that successive priors, in whose hands all the patronage of the monastery lay, kept him at arm's length, and did not promote him to any responsible office. Yet it would be rash and unwarrantable to insinuate that he was from first to last a cunning and designing rogue. In an age of measureless credulity, when doubt is reckoned devil-born, and unquestioning acquiescence in the dominant beliefs of the day is apt to be regarded as more meritorious than the practice of the lowly virtues of uprightness and tolerance, even good and fervent men, and much more those who are very zealous for what they hold to be a great cause, can easily persuade themselves to accept without hesitation or demur the conclusions of those in authority. Unconsciously they get to subject their reason to their interest or their inclinations, till their mental condition becomes one of miserable intellectual torpor, and the critical faculty being paralysed they lose the power of distinguishing truth from falsehood. It is very easy to call such men impostors; it is wiser to remember that in every age there have been examples of this type, men and women of whom it has been said that they are "deceivers and being deceived"; and yet it would be hard, perhaps impossible, to say when and how the one merged into the other. Perhaps the two processes may be at work simultaneously. A man may start by wishing for truth without going the right way to arrive at it, and may end by embracing falsehood till he cannot bear to part with it.

* * * * * *

"Les vies de saints sont aussi de l'histoire," says a great historian. "Ce qu'il y faut chercher," he adds, "ce sont les habitudes, les faits généraux et permanents, et l'hagiographe n'avait aucun

[1] By an oversight the word *secretarius* in the original has been translated *secretary*. A reference to Du Cange will show that *secretarius* was only another form employed occasionally for the more usual term *sacrista*.

[2] At page 214, he appears as *Cantor*.

intérêt à les altérer. Il peut inventer un miracle, il n'en invente pas les circonstances[1]."

Hagiography, or as it may be called Christian mythology, has few attractions for the general reader of the nineteenth century; his aversion to this kind of literature is at least excusable, but the contemptuous ridicule with which he speaks of it does not prove his superior wisdom. When we can get over the long lists of miracles, which even in their nauseous details have all a strong family likeness to one another, there still remains a very valuable element of social history imbedded in the most extravagant lives of saints that have come down to us[2]. Brother Thomas had little thought of supplying us with information regarding the beliefs or the daily life of his contemporaries, and yet he could not help doing so. Unconsciously he furnishes us with some valuable side lights which give us here and there a glimpse of the habits and manners and superstitions and religious observances of various classes of people in the 12th century. The monk in his cloister was living a life apart, but he could not for all his seclusion be ignorant of what was going on in the outer world. To begin with, he must needs have been brought into relations with the secular or parochial clergy, and he has to speak of them rather frequently in his narrative.

i. It is observable that every priest whom Thomas names is a married man. Wlward, St William's grandfather, Godwin Sturt, who had married his mother's sister, Edwin, the priest of Taverham, husband of her first cousin, and others who are incidentally mentioned are all husbands and fathers, and there is no indication that they were held in less esteem on that account. The attempt to enforce celibacy upon the secular clergy in the diocese of Norwich had never met with any success. How should it when the three immediate predecessors of Bishop Herbert were almost certainly married men? In despite of all papal legislation, decrees of councils, pressure exercised by bishops or heavy taxation imposed upon the married clergy by Henry I. and King John, the secular priests went on taking to themselves wives till late in the 13th century, and in the 12th this was evidently the rule rather than the exception[3] among the English clergy.

[1] Fustel de Coulanges. *La Monarchie Franque*, ch. I. *Les Documents*, p. 12.

[2] There are some valuable remarks on this subject in Mr Borlase's book, *The Age of the Saints*, p. 18 *et seq.*, Truro, Pollard, 1893.

[3] I adduced some curious evidence for this statement in a paper which I

ii. When Thomas wrote his book the practice of Auricular Confession had not yet been made obligatory, nor had the *Indicative* formula of Absolution been introduced into the Church[1]. In the Monasteries, the ancient custom had been for the brethren to make public confession of their faults and sins in the Chapter House and to submit to such penance as might be imposed upon them. Slowly, very slowly, the general confession of guiltiness and sinfulness in which a whole congregation joined audibly, developed into the private confession to a priest, and this was first imposed upon all the faithful by the famous canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, of the Lateran Council of 1216. We hear several times of Confession in the following pages: but the reader must be reminded that we are engaged with the 12th century and not with the 13th. When we read that Wicheman, one of the monks, pp. 30, 84 was appointed the bishop's deputy for receiving confessions, it should be borne in mind that the duties of this office did not consist in extorting secrets from the penitent, or in giving absolution even in the *precatory* form. He had to hear what the sinner had to tell against himself and to adjudge such penance as the case in his judgment demanded, or in a matter of difficulty to report it to the bishop, who would deal with it in his discretion. Secrecy was not of the essence of confession in those days, and no scruple would be felt in reporting what a dying man had revealed in his last moments. The doctrine of the *Seal of Confession* had not yet been heard of; it was the inevitable result of the enforcement of auricular confession in a later time. This will explain how Thomas can have known what only could be reported by a priest who had heard the penitent's story. At the point of death men and women then, as now, yearned to unburden their consciences of a load that was heavy to bear, but there was no necessary obligation to conceal what it might in many cases be only a matter of right and duty to make known. The comfort ministered by the priest took the

contributed to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Journal in 1882 (vol. IX. p. 187). If further proof or illustration be asked for it is ready at hand.

[1] The whole subject has been treated exhaustively in the great work entitled *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ...* Auctore Johanne Morino, Congreg. Oratorii Presbyt. Folio, Antwerp, 1682. Bingham made great use of this work in his *Antiquities*, Bks. 18 and 19. Dr Lea's last work, *A History of Confession and Indulgences*, has only very recently appeared. It is full to overflowing of curious learning and research, such as we are prepared to expect and are sure to find in everything this wonderful American scholar puts his hand to.

form of an intercessory prayer: and there is no trace in the narrative we are concerned with of any other absolution except that which was pronounced by the bishop on *Absolution* Day, as the Thursday in Passion Week had by this time got to be called.

Morinus has given some interesting illustrations of this very ancient ceremony. When auricular confession was made obligatory on all and *private* absolution became universally prevalent, the old public solemnity tended to become obsolete; yet it was still kept up in his own time in many of the French churches, and especially in the diocese of Paris, where among the laity it was called *l'Absoute*[1]. As far as my own reading has extended I have not met with any instance of the kind in England, later than this in Brother Thomas' narrative.

* * * * * *

There are still some matters alluded to or mentioned in our narrative to which the attention of the reader should be directed.

(i) It appears there was much more education of a certain kind among all classes than one would have expected. The little William, we are told, was taught by his mother: the hysterical girl p. 13
at Dunwich appears to have been fond of learning: Robert the p. 80
Carpenter carried about a psalter in his pocket: Thomas himself p. 194
loses a psalter which he had written for his own use, but it was stolen from him by someone who certainly regarded it as a saleable article.

(ii) There seems to have been a great deal of money changing hands. Two *monetarii* are named who cannot have been the only licensed coiners in Norwich. In the Confessor's days we know that there were seven "Moneyers" at Chester, and the trade of Norwich more than a century later must have required a good deal of the circulating medium. Moreover, everybody seems to have been able to command threepence for masses or offerings or candles; and the people generally appear to have been fairly well to do. Beggars there were who lived upon alms, but one hears surprisingly little of poverty, while we do hear of a lady who wore many rings on her fingers, and of people wandering about on p. 195
pilgrimage; moreover the hatred that was felt against the Jews implies that they were living upon the necessities of the traders and artisans, that is, that trade was flourishing, however bad the finance of the traders may have been.

[1] *De Pœnitentiâ*, Lib. VIII. cap. XXVI. § 3 *et seq.*

(iii) It is evident that surnames were far more common in East Anglia during the 12th century than some would have us believe. In the following pages the reader will meet with surnames of all kinds and their general prevalence indicates that they must have been in most cases inherited. This will throw us back even to the 11th century. Some of these surnames are no more than descriptive of a man's trade or occupation, as Robert Palmarius, Reginald Vacarius, Edward Piscator. Some refer to the place from which the bearer came, as Richard de Needham, but many can hardly be other than patronymics, the original form of which has become so *obscured by wear* that it is difficult to assign any meaning to them. Such are Ælward *Ded*, Walter Flotberd, Stannard Wrancberd, Godwin Sturt and others, which will be found collected in the index (Surnames).

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(iv) As to the superstitions and beliefs of the people, of which the book contains many illustrations, I have not thought it necessary to dwell upon them. Students of folklore will I doubt not find more than one curious passage which will for them possess special interest.

CHAPTER II.

THE BENEDICTINE PRIORY AT NORWICH.

WHEN the body of the dead boy was found in Thorpe Wood, the monastery at Norwich had not been opened much more than forty years, and it was little more than twenty-four years since Bishop Herbert had died. The founder had contemplated a convent of sixty monks, but it may be doubted if at any time the full complement of brethren was reached. It is hardly probable that as many as fifty can have been admitted to the house during Herbert's lifetime. In the year 1144 there must have been many among the brethren who remembered and had known him well. Nor can the Prior, William Turbe, have been the only member of the community who had been actually trained under Herbert's eye and educated by him in the routine of monastic discipline. Under a Prior whose life from boyhood had been passed in the rigorous discipline of a strict Benedictine house, we may be sure there would be small toleration of laxity. The Cluniac rule, which was intended to revive the ascetic life, or at least to restore the old rigour, had been introduced into the Norwich diocese by the foundation of the Cluniac priories of Castle Acre and Thetford; and the influence of this reform cannot but have made itself felt in the older religious houses. Everything in Brother Thomas' narrative goes to show that the Benedictine rule was somewhat scrupulously enforced at Norwich. There had scarcely been time enough for any bad tradition to grow up in the cloister.

From the monks' choir (the limits of which extended westward, nearly as far as the still existing twisted pillars in the nave; and eastward comprehended all the choir with its chapels —the transepts being probably screened off) the laity were excluded; an altar—the altar of the Holy Cross—being provided

for them, at which mass was duly said. The whole convent were required to attend the midnight services, and lamps were
p. 188 lit in the cloister to lighten the darkness. The old rule of silence was observed, and apparently the language of signs was still in use upon occasion, for when Brother Thomas had seen
p. 118 his vision of the founder in 1150, he did not venture to tell it to the Prior until, in obedience to the rule, he had first gained permission to speak (ubi juxta ordinem loquendi daretur facultas). The vision itself too was granted when Thomas was lying upon his bed after matins, at which time it was usual for a monk to remain in the dormitory. The sacrist slept not
p. 187 in the dormitory, but in the church, a duty which in later times was often shirked as irksome and disagreeable.

The schoolboys were taught in the eastern walk of the cloister, and they seem to have actually had seats in the Chapter House at the daily meeting of the convent in Chapter. Unless indeed we are to infer no more than that the school was kept in the Chapter House: in either case, however, the practice was very unusual of the boys having any recognised place in that building. There appear to have been fourteen boys educated in the school originally[1].

The story of the black pig that made its way into the pre-
p. 137 cincts during the night shows that there was some access to the cloister from the outside through the "dark entry" which I think must have been the ordinary passage to the latrines; and the people who flocked to see the martyr's tomb when he
pp. 155, 171, 185 lay in the Chapter House can only have entered by this approach, which in the nature of things could not always be kept closed. The infirmary buildings which extended from the dorter in the direction of the river protected the monks' cemetery to a great extent from intrusion.

The ordinary way of approach from the cloister to this cemetery was through the undercroft over which the dorter was
pp. 53, 54 built. The slype or passage through which a dead monk was carried to his burial lay[2] between the Chapter House and the Church, and the doorway to this slype may still be seen in the eastern alley of the cloister, as may the steps which led up to the dormitory.

[1] *Visit. of the Diocese of Norwich*, Camden Soc. 1888, p. 192, 2.

[2] Interment in the Cloister was very rare, and in the 12th century almost unknown. See Dom. Martene, *De ritibus*, Lib. v., cap. x. §§ 99—102.

Of the twelve or thirteen monks named by Brother Thomas, six are *Obedientiaries* or office-bearers in the priory, viz., the Prior, Sub-Prior, Sacrist, Chamberlain and the Cantor or Precentor. Brother Thomas has enabled us to correct some mistakes which Blomefield was led into by the authorities which alone he had access to in his day.

William Turbe appears to have succeeded Ingulf as Prior sometime in 1121, that is about two years after Bishop Herbert's death[1], and of course vacated this office on his election to the Bishopric in 1146. The convent elected Elias to succeed him, and it is abundantly evident that Prior Elias set himself firmly against giving unquestioning credence to the story of the martyrdom. Indeed I cannot resist the suspicion that when William Turbe as Prior was doing his utmost to induce the monks to accept the tale with unquestioning credulity and to turn it to account, there was a strong party in the convent who set themselves against the whole business, and that of this party Elias was the head. If it were so, we must infer that the election of Prior Elias turned mainly upon the question of recognising the dead boy as indeed the victim of the Jews, and so as a saint and martyr, and that at this early stage the sceptical party among the monks was the stronger and carried their man.

Prior Elias, however, evidently found Bishop Turbe's continued presence at Norwich and his fanatical determination to glorify the boy saint too strong to resist, and when the body had lain in the monks' cemetery for six years and brother Thomas was allowed to tell his vision in open chapter and received the strong support p. 117
of the bishop, the little saint—for by this time he had begun to be spoken of as such—was taken up from his grave in the cemetery and removed to the new sarcophagus in the Chapter House; but March 1150, p. 127
when Thomas, presuming upon his success in obtaining the removal, and confident of receiving the bishop's countenance and support, presumed to provide a carpet to be spread before the new tomb, and a taper to be kept burning there, Prior Elias promptly ordered the removal of these things. Only a new outburst of miracles and p. 128
visions availed to bring about the restoration of the light[2], Elias p. 143
evidently having given way with no little reluctance.

The formal appointment of Thomas as *sacrist* to the martyr, means apparently that somebody by this time had been told off

[1] Blomefield, iii. 600.

[2] The carpet was not restored till after the death of Elias (p. 173).

to account for the offerings made at the shrine by pilgrims and visitors, but I suspect that the new office was created by the bishop and not by the prior.

Prior Elias is said by Blomefield to have died 22 Oct. 1149. It is clear from the narrative of Thomas that his death took place
p. 160. in 1150[1]. Elias was succeeded in his office by Richard de Ferrariis,
p. 35 then sub-Prior, a man of high birth, and to all appearance an uncompromising supporter of Brother Thomas and his story. He was no sooner elected than he showed his zeal for the martyr by
p. 173 restoring the carpet which Prior Elias had caused to be removed, and in July next year the body was removed for the third time from the Chapter House into the Cathedral, without any ceremonial, and placed in a position to the south of the high altar
p. 189, cf. 243 and protected by an iron grating. By this time the name of the boy saint had travelled far and wide. The story had gained general acceptance, and pilgrims began to flock to Norwich from all parts of the country. Finally, on the 5th April, 1154, the
p. 221 saint was removed to the apsidal chapel on the north of the high altar now known as the Jesus Chapel, but then designated as the Chapel of the Holy Martyrs. This time Bishop Turbe took a prominent part in the dedicatory services. He had got the desire of his heart, and no further removal was carried out till later times.

Blomefield interpolates a certain prior named Ranulph, of whom I can learn nothing, as the successor of Prior Richard, and he says the next prior, John, succeeded 'about 1170.' Inasmuch as there is a letter from John of Salisbury, which belongs to the year 1168, addressed to John the prior of Norwich, it is plain that Prior Richard must have died before this year[2]. Finally on the 27 April, 1168, Bishop Turbe built and consecrated a chapel[3]
p. 279 to S. William in Thorpe Wood, on the spot where the body was said to have been found 24 years before; and the foundations of this chapel may be traced even to the present day, if indeed the place which tradition has assigned to it be correct. A special service of commemoration of S. William was in use in the 14th

[1] Bartholomew Cotton by some unaccountable blunder says he died in 1146, though he rightly gives 1150 as the date of the removal of St William into the Chapter House: *De rege Stephano*, pp. 67, 68, ed. Luard.

[2] In Migne's *Patrolog. Lat.* vol. 199, Ep. 267, p. 308.

[3] In Dean Goulburn's *Sculptures in the Roof of Norwich Cathedral* there is a facsimile of the ground plan of this chapel and its precinct drawn by Kirkpatrick at the beginning of last century.

century, which has been printed in Dean Goulburn's work from a transcript made by the late Henry Bradshaw[1].

It was not to be expected that any but incidental mention should be found in the following pages, of the names of the Norwich monks during the period with which the narrative of Brother Thomas is concerned.

Of the monks named, two at least were gentlemen of high birth, and a third was of the kindred of one of the leading families in Norwich.

Peter Peverell and Richard de Ferrariis were both scions p. 189
of distinguished Norman houses. In the 12th century the monasteries were very different places from what we find them four centuries later. By that time they had to a very great extent ceased to be the homes of disciplined devotion and were no longer places of retirement for men of high birth desirous of spending their last days in seclusion and preparation for the next life among a brotherhood of unworldly ascetics keeping up continual exercises of prayer and praise. In the 12th century, however, the monasteries were still regarded as, and they actually were, the houses and the schools of holiness, and it was only what we should expect that Bishop Herbert's priory offered attractions to men of gentle blood young and old who at this time joined the community and who found a refuge there from mundane cares and anxiety and hoped to find a refuge too from the temptations and proclivities which they had learnt to dread and abhor.

Nevertheless there was doubtless a plebeian element to be found in a great monastery from the first—though it by no means preponderated so largely as it undoubtedly did in later times.

There was always a career open to a lad of promise educated in the monastic schools, and it was never difficult for a *clerk* wherever educated to gain admission—sometimes too easy and too early admission—into a religious house, if he had shown decided talent and an inclination to enter the monastic profession, even though he were a poor man's son and could contribute nothing to his own support. The time might come when he would bring credit and honour to the house which had received him; and there was exactly the same competition for a young fellow who had the making of a

[1] *u. s.* p. 115. S. William's day was the 24th March.

bishop in him among the monasteries as there is now among the schools and colleges for a lad with a brilliant future before him.

Robert, the martyr's brother, who plays such a suspicious part
p. 91 in getting up the story, was received as a monk into the priory, though he can hardly have been other than a poor man; but at any rate he had shown himself a valuable partisan—he was already in minor orders; which means that he had received some education—and in the sequel he became a prominent personage among the
p. 286 hierophants of the new *cult*. Even he however had apparently to wait some time before he was accepted and admitted as a member of the community. There was, and there must have been, some educational, moral, and, in many monasteries, even a social standard which any postulant for admission would have to attain to over and above the real or pretended *vocation* which was put to rather severe tests during the period of the noviciate[1].

There are indications in the narrative of Brother Thomas that the adoption of St William as a kind of patron saint of the priory did a great deal more harm than good to the community. From the first there had been something like bitter dissension in the convent, and even to the time when Thomas wrote his book there was almost acrimonious feeling between him and the sceptics who evidently did not make any secret of their doubts.

The intrusion of sightseers into the cloister, even into the very Chapter House, and the crowds that made their way into the precincts—not always, we may be sure, in a respectful and acquiescent frame of mind—must have been disturbing to the quiet and order of the house, and the burial of the martyr's mother in the
p. 217 Monks' Cemetery must have shocked the feelings of many of the brethren, and can hardly have been agreed to without some protest from the minority. Bishop Turbe died in January, 1175. His successor was a man of a very different temper and cast of mind. He was much away from Norwich during the 25 years of his episcopate. He had no sympathy with the monastic life, and the

[1] Despite all the decline, which has so frequently been insisted on, in the monasteries during the later middle ages, it is abundantly clear that there was no lack of eminent scholars and diligent students in the religious houses even to the end. The proportion of King Henry's bishops who had been brought up in the Cloister and who were men of conspicuous reputation is very suggestive. See *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, by the present writer, Introduction, note 4.

Norwich Monks probably were, as far as he was concerned, left to their own devices. But it is idle to indulge in conjecture where we have no evidence to deal with. Thomas lifts the curtain: when he drops it we are left without a glimpse of what might still be revealed if another had taken up the tale.

CHAPTER III.

EAST ANGLIA IN THE REIGN OF KING STEPHEN.

We are told that the boy William was twelve years of age when he was put to death by the Norwich Jews, just before the Easter Festival of 1144. This fixes his birth to the year 1132. The last event mentioned by Thomas appears to belong to 1172. We are therefore concerned with a period of 40 years, a period which covers the whole reign of Stephen and well-nigh twenty years of the reign of Henry II. Contemporary sources for the history of the former reign are so very few, and our knowledge even of the sequence of events—much less of the life of the people during these miserable years—so scanty, that a brief review of English affairs so far as may be necessary to explain some passages in the following narrative, and so far as the narrative itself throws light upon the general history of the country during the times we are concerned with—will not, I trust, be regarded as useless for the general reader. Of scholars I crave some indulgence for the introduction of matter which by them perhaps may be regarded as superfluous.

With the death of Henry I. on the 1st of December, 1135, the family of William the Conqueror, in the male line, came to an end. By the foundering of the White ship in 1120, Henry had lost his only legitimate son. The "good Queen Maud" had died in 1118. In January, 1121, the king married Adela of Louvain, but there was no issue from this second marriage. There remained to him one legitimate daughter, Matilda, who in 1114 had become the wife of the Emperor, Henry V. In 1125 the Emperor died, and next year the Empress returned to England.

At the Christmas festival of 1126 the Prelates and Barons of the realm were required to swear fealty to Matilda and accept her as the heir to the throne and to all her father's dominions in England and Normandy. Two years later (17 June, 1128), she was married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, and six weeks after this event William, surnamed Clito, the Conqueror's only surviving grandson, died[1]. His luckless father Duke Robert closed his miserable career at Cardiff[2] 3rd February, 1134, and in the following December, as has been said, Henry the king followed his brother to the grave.

Though Matilda had borne no children to her first husband, the Emperor, yet before her father's death she had two sons by her second husband, the elder of whom, born on the 5th March, 1133, was the future king Henry II., who at his grandfather's death was in his third year.

But when that event occurred a daughter of the Conqueror, and so a sister of Henry I., was still living. Adela or Adeliza was perhaps the most gifted woman of her age. She had married Stephen Count of Blois, in 1080, and by him had been the mother of a large family. Her husband was slain in 1101: she herself took the veil at the Cluniac Priory of Marcigny in 1109. None the less however did she continue to be a strong and influential personage in European politics till her death in 1137.

The third son of this illustrious lady, Stephen, the Conqueror's grandson, and therefore first cousin to the Empress Matilda, was sent as a youth to be educated at the court of his uncle Henry I., and for twenty years was a conspicuous figure among the barons. He was virtually the king's adopted son, and as early as 1126 was recognised as the first layman in the kingdom after the sovereign[3]. Nevertheless at his uncle's bidding, he, with the rest of the nobility and the bishops had on two occasions sworn fealty to the Empress Matilda as heir to the crown; and from anything that we know to the contrary he had never put forth any claim to the succession or been suspected of any treasonable or ambitious designs.

He held his peace and made no sign; but when Henry died, his prompt action secured to him the throne. He was elected to the kingdom by the citizens of London; accepted at Winchester,

[1] 27 July 1128. Freeman, p. 207.
[2] *u. s.* V. 208, see note Z, p. 849.
[3] Norgate, I. p. 274.

where he possessed himself of the royal treasury; and was crowned at Westminster at the end of December, 1135[1].

The Empress Matilda at once appealed to Rome; her contention being that Stephen had defrauded her of her right and had forsworn himself by breaking his oath of fealty. The decision was pronounced with very little delay and was in Stephen's favour[2]. Meanwhile, though the Empress had her hands full on the other side of the Channel, Stephen had a difficult part to play with the disloyal factions at home.

The invasion of David king of Scotland, uncle of the Empress, ended in a kind of peace; but in that same year, 1136, the rebellion of Hugh Bigod—the first revolt on the part of his nominal supporters—disturbed the comparative quiet. After the suppression of this outbreak Stephen's position in England was a strong one. Unhappily he lacked all the necessary qualities of a ruler of men. In 1137 he crossed over to Normandy, where Matilda was unable to hold her ground. At the close of the year he was back again. Then followed the second invasion of the Scots and the decisive *Battle of the Standard* on the 22nd August, 1138. The triumph proved of very little use to Stephen, who, as usual, threw away his opportunities. During the next year, 1139, he contrived to put himself wrong with every class in the kingdom, the Church, the baronage, the traders, the administrators of justice and finance; and before the year 1140 was ended the long anarchy had begun.

Meanwhile Matilda the Empress had landed at Arundel on the 30th September, 1139, and been received into the castle there by Adela, the widowed Queen of Henry I. Matilda had failed to keep her hold on Normandy—perhaps the time had come to wrench England from the grasp of the usurper.

But Matilda was almost as little fitted for dealing with the difficult position in which she found herself as Stephen himself was. At the battle of Lincoln, 2nd February, 1141, the king was made prisoner after fighting like a hero. A week later Matilda was recognised 'Lady of England' at Winchester; and though she was never crowned she exercised for awhile all the functions of sovereignty. In May she was met at St Alban's by the citizens of

[1] The exact day is uncertain; see Norgate's *Angevin Kings*, Vol. I. 279, n. 4.

[2] Mr Round has proved that this took place in 1136. *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 8, and App. B. pp. 250—262.

London[1], and thence was conducted in a grand procession to Westminster, and confirmed the recent election of Robert, a monk of Reading, as bishop of London. Her triumph was short; the citizens of London soon rose against her and drove her out. In August she was again at Winchester: she occupied the castle while the city was being reduced to flames, for wherever she moved, horror and ruin followed in her train.

On the 14th September she was once more a fugitive, riding as men ride (*usu masculino*) to Devizes, and when subsequently she reached Gloucester she was carried on a bier and wrapped about with grave-clothes, for she could not trust her very followers. Meanwhile Earl Robert of Gloucester endeavouring to escape from the city by another road fell into the hands of the king's mercenaries at Stourbridge, where it seems Stephen's queen, the other Matilda, had her headquarters. The Earl was at once handed over to William of Ypres, and confined in the castle of Rochester. The fortunes of war had changed rapidly indeed. The two Matildas had now each lost her absolutely essential chief and leader. Matilda the Queen was clamouring for her husband the king; Matilda the Empress was helpless without the support and championship of her half brother the Earl. Fierce and stubborn as ever, the Empress would hear of no compromise, but she had to yield at last, and at the beginning of November the two prisoners were exchanged[2], and there was a pause. The exhaustion of both parties stopped hostilities for awhile, but Stephen was clearly gaining ground and Matilda was losing it. In December, 1141, Henry Bishop of Winchester[3] called a council at Westminster, at which the king attended, and there Stephen was once more proclaimed the lawful king of England, to whom obedience was

[1] *Florence of Worcester*, II. 131.

[2] Gervase says, 'Circa festivitatem,' I. p. 122.

[3] It should be remembered that he was a younger brother of Stephen. He was educated in the Abbey of Cluny and must have been at Cluny when Pope Gelasius died there, 29 Dec. 1118, and when Callixtus II. was elected there to the Papacy in the following February. During the last few years of his stay at Cluny Peter the Venerable was Abbot of Cluny. In 1126 Henry I. invited him to England, when he became Abbot of Glastonbury, and in October 1129, he was elected Bp of Winchester. When William of Corbeil, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in November 1136, the See of Canterbury was kept vacant for two years. There was no papal legate then in England, for the legative powers of Archbishop William had not been conferred upon his successor Archbishop Theobald. In 1139 Henry of Winchester received his commission as legate, and the immense importance of this appointment can never be lost sight of in reading the history of this period.

due, and excommunication was pronounced upon all who should support Matilda's claims to the crown[1]. Almost the whole of 1142 passed away without any decisive passage of arms between the two parties[2]. In December Stephen, acting with great vigour and skill, besieged the Empress at Oxford, and pressed her so hard that she escaped with great difficulty by another romantic flight at night time through the snow.

Already in the spring of 1143 her cause must have seemed to herself well-nigh desperate. She had almost played her last card, when she made her bid for the support of Geoffrey de Mandeville. But when that faithless adventurer's devastation of the Isle of Ely, of Ramsey Abbey, of Cambridge and the country round, came to an end by his death in August, 1144, there was no help for Matilda and her party, if party it might be called, in which every one was working for his own ends. There was no place for loyalty or patriotism or honour in the hearts of men possessed by the sordid passion of greed.

When Stephen kept his feast at Lincoln and wore his crown in the Minster on Christmas Day, 1146, he may well have felt that he was more a king than he had ever been before, though he was still very far from being a sovereign ruler; that he could never be in the England where he had been for eleven years a lord of misrule.

The close of the year 1147 is memorable for the death of Robert, the great Earl of Gloucester, 3rd October, half brother of the Empress and her most powerful supporter. Then at last she gave up the hopeless struggle, and in the spring of 1148 she slipped away from England never to return: the port from whence she sailed, and the exact date of her departure, are unknown.

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In May, 1149, young Henry made a fruitless expedition into England; he met with little support, he was only 16 years old, his time had not yet come. He went back to Normandy in January, 1150; he could afford to wait; others were doing his work, by doing their own work so very badly, and preparing his way before

[1] Norgate's *Angevin Kings*, I. 329. Mr Round contends for a second coronation at Canterbury, see *u. s.* p. 138.

[2] In the spring of that year we find a trace of Stephen in East Anglia. Round, *u. s.* p. 158.

him. In 1152, Stephen proposed at an assembly of the bishops that his son Eustace should be crowned and associated with himself in the kingdom. At the bidding of the Pope (Eugenius III.), Archbishop Theobald refused to perform the ceremony, and in his refusal was supported by all his suffragans. Stephen flung them all into prison, and then, as usual, set them free again. Meanwhile disorder seems to have prevailed extensively. The robber bands were too many to be dealt with in detail, and the castles gave them refuge in spite of the king's forces. In January, 1153, young Henry came again; fortune seemed to be turning in his favour, but, says the Chronicler[1], neither side wished the other to gain any decided advantage, they desired no king to reign over them. Only the bishops, with the primate Theobald at their head, seemed to be consistently active in their efforts to bring about peace.

While some arrangements in this direction were apparently going on in Oxfordshire, Eustace in an outburst of fury deserted his father and rode eastward, vowing he would lay waste the land wherever he came. He got as far as Bury St Edmund's. While he sat at meat in the Abbey on the 2nd February[2] he was struck down by an apoplectic fit and died in the monastery he had come to pillage.

The last of Stephen's successes was his capture of the Castle of Ipswich from Hugh Bigod, the turbulent East Anglian magnate[3]. After this there were months of negotiation and uncertainty, till at length, on the 6th November, a settlement was arrived at by the treaty of Wallingford. Stephen was to adopt Henry as his son, retaining his regal dignity for life, and surrendering the rule and administration of the kingdom to Henry, who was acknowledged as the heir to the throne.

Stephen died on the 25th October, 1154, and Henry II. was crowned king of England in Westminster Abbey on the 19th December following.

The Chroniclers from whom we derive what knowledge we possess of Stephen's reign vie with one another in declaiming bitterly against the horrors of the times. 'It was the period at

[1] *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 287.
[2] Norgate, Vol. I. p. 399.
[3] *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 288.

which, for once, the feudal principle got its way in England[1],' that is, the period when the forces of disruption were at work with none to hold them under control. But yet, when it is asserted that the whole machinery of government, of justice and of police came to a stop, there are some reasons to show that this is an exaggerated view of the situation. To begin with, the power of the Church was still formidable, and the bishops and the clergy had still some means of enforcing their discipline—that is, they had something in the shape of a coercive executive behind them; and while this was so there was clearly a force somewhere which was at work for righteousness, and affording some grounds of hope, even to the despairing, that better days might be coming by and bye.

Indications are not wanting that during all this time of political and civil confusion, when the tyranny of brute force was playing frightful havoc through the land, Norfolk suffered less than any other part of England. The narrative of Brother Thomas strongly corroborates this view in many curious particulars.

There is in one of the registers of St Edmund's Abbey quoted by Blomefield[2] a report of a very remarkable meeting held, about the year 1150, in the bishop's garden at Norwich in obedience to a summons from the king. On this occasion Sir Hervey de Glanvil[3], then a very old man, is reported to have made a speech to the assembly declaring that *he had constantly attended the county and hundred court for above* 50 years as they who were present all knew. The inference is plain, that the old formalities of the courts had been kept up during all the troubles of the weary days of confusion, and that justice and the laws—such as they were—were actually administered, or were believed to be administered, according to ancient precedent under officials duly authorized to discharge their functions. The account which Brother Thomas gives of the intervention of the Sheriff John in defence of the Jews in 1144 furnishes us with a striking illustration of this.

Norwich Castle was a fortress of great importance in the days of Henry I. and had been held for the king by Hugh Bigod as constable and governor of the city. In 1122, Henry had bestowed a charter upon the citizens of Norwich, retaining the castle in his own hands, and committing it to the custody not of Earl Hugh (as

[1] Bp Stubbs' *Const. Hist.* I. p. 330.

[2] *History of Norfolk*, Vol. III. p. 28 *et seq.*

[3] Probably the father or grandfather of the knight of the same name who was the marshal of the Norfolk crusaders in 1147. See Norgate, Vol. I. p. 362.

he afterwards became) but of the Sheriff of Norfolk. Hugh resented the setting up of an officer of the king whose power in the county tended to become greater than his own[1], and when in 1136 Stephen fell ill, and the report spread that he was dead, Hugh Bigod (apparently by a *coup de main*) got possession of the castle for a little time, but was soon compelled to surrender it. From that time the castle continued to be held for the king by the Sheriffs of Norfolk as his representatives; it was garrisoned by a force whose pay was provided from a special impost known as the 'Castle ward,' and yielding a revenue sufficient to cover also the necessary expense of keeping up the repairs of the defences.

The Sheriff of Norfolk in the later years of Henry I. was Robert FitzWalter[2]: his father Walter had been one of the followers of William Malet, whose services to the Conqueror were so bountifully rewarded with lands in Norfolk and Suffolk[3].

Walter himself appears to have held lands at Caen in Normandy, whence he is designated by the writers of the Domesday returns as Walter de *Cadomo*. In the next generation his son Robert appears to have been known in common parlance as Robert of *Caen*, and this name, spelt in the charters of the 12th century phonetically, assumes quite surprising varieties of form, from *de Kayni* to *Caxineto* and even more unrecognisable contortions. In the Pipe Rolls of Henry II., from 1158 to 1169, the name is variously spelt *de Caineto, de Caisnei* and *de Caisne*, and the members of the family are known as founders or large benefactors to more than one of the East Anglian religious houses, especially the Benedictine Priory of Horsham St Faith's and the Augustinian Priory of Coxford in Norfolk, and the considerable Cistercian Abbey of Sibton in Suffolk. Their chief place of residence was at Mileham, in the hundred of Launditch[4], where are still to be seen the remains of an important Roman camp, extensive earthworks, indicative of Saxon or Danish occupation, and the ruins of the castle which Robert FitzWalter occupied, and where his eldest

[1] On the relation of the Earl to the Sheriff at this period see Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, I. p. 519.

[2] This appears from a document in the Ramsey Cartulary, Vol. I. p. 148, No. LXXXI., where Robert FitzWalter is named as Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 'tempore Rainuldi Abbatis Ramesiensis,' *i.e.* between A.D. 1114 and 1133. By the App. to the 31st Deputy Keeper's Report he appears as Sheriff in 1131.

[3] Freeman's *Conquest*, IV. 473, and *D. D. B.* II. 153, 156.

[4] Carthew, *History of the Hundred of Launditch*, Vol. I. p. 165.

son John de Caisnei died, as the monk Thomas charitably
p. 112 insinuates, by the special judgment of God. The Sheriff at this time was the most important personage in the county: 'The governor of the shire, the captain of its forces, the president of its court, and a distinctively royal officer appointed by the king, dismissible at a moment's notice, strictly accountable to the king's exchequer[1].' The office tended to become hereditary, and, as it was elsewhere, so it was in East Anglia.

Robert FitzWalter was succeeded in the shrievalty by his eldest son John, and when John de Caisnei died without issue,
p. 112 1146, his brother William[2] appears to have been appointed
pp. 128 and 172 in his place and continued to hold the office till 1163, when, it seems, he was dismissed from it, probably in consequence of certain investigations which were commenced this very year into the maladministration of the sheriffs, and which resulted in the discovery that William de Caisnei was very heavily in debt to the crown, and moreover *was deep in the books of the Norwich Jews*[3].

Under the strong rule of these sheriffs holding the castle for the king, it is evident that the Norwich citizens were kept well in hand, and when the king visited the city to hold a judicial enquiry, the picture we get is the picture of an assembly where the plead-
p. 99 ings are listened to with all due attention and the trial is adjourned not without some dignity and an appearance of sober impartiality.

Before this, however, the conduct of Sheriff John in protecting the Jews from the fury of the secular clergy assembled in synod and in delivering them from the necessity of submitting to the ordeal, indicates that the chief magistracy was in good hands. Brother Thomas asserts that the Jews bribed the sheriff; and if by that we are to understand that they paid him heavily for troubling himself to protect them in the interest of justice and equity, it is not unlikely to be true. But when they tried to do the like with the bishop, Thomas says Bishop Turbe would hold no intercourse with them; which again clearly means that he would not listen to reason, or for an instant concede that they were to be treated with as human beings whose rights were to be regarded, or their testimony believed.

[1] Pollock and Maitland, I. p. 519.

[2] Sometimes called Willī de Norwich.

[3] *The Early Plantagenets*, Stubbs, p. 68. Compare Vols. 7, 8, Pipe Rolls Society publications.

Nor was the influence of the sheriff occupying Norwich Castle limited to the narrow area of his urban jurisdiction. What the cause of quarrel was between the sheriff and the brothers Edward and Robert is not apparent, but it is clear that the men were afraid of being *arrested*, and that they were hiding from the sheriff's officers, who were in search of them. Trade and commerce seem to have been going on without any great let or hindrance. People were making pilgrimages to foreign shrines or came on pilgrimage to Norwich to St William's shrine and travelled about the country with no fear of molestation; and though the Norfolk coast in the 12th century was indented by very many little seaports which have since then been silted up or have disappeared by the incursions of the sea, we hear of no piracy among the Norfolk people, though we do hear of pirates on the Lincoln coast, who appear to have held their captives to ransom and treated them cruelly while they detained them.

Even the case of the murder of the Jew Eleazar by the followers of Sir Simon de Novers[1], though undoubtedly an instance of the defiance of law indicating the existence of a great deal of ruffianism, yet resulting as it did in the trial of the knight and the great exertions that were made to obtain an acquittal, shows that there was a belief that some redress might be looked for from the king and that such abominable outrages were not going on commonly, had not ceased to be regarded with indignation nor were allowed to remain unpunished.

The case of Sir William de Whitwell at first reading does seem to be a bad one. But freed from the exaggerations with which Brother Thomas has wrapped it round it may be doubted whether anything more happened than has happened often enough before or since, when an uncle and his nephew have come to words and blows and the stronger has treated the weaker with savage brutality.

But the sheriff was not the only dispenser of justice in the country in Stephen's time. Thomas incidentally makes mention of certain officials whose authority was recognised in the districts over which they exercised some sort of magisterial sway. These were the *decani*.

The exact nature of the jurisdiction of the decanus, the extent

[1] The case mentioned at p. 258 goes far to prove that the knight was a fierce and truculent person.

of his authority and the duties of his office in the 12th century, it would be extremely difficult and perhaps impossible to define. The *word* is said in the laws of Edward the Confessor to be the equivalent of the Saxon *tyenthe-heved*[1], and signified an official whose duties were concerned with minor offences and adjudicating on disputes between neighbours in the same vill. The *decanus* is frequently mentioned in the *Polypticum* of Abbot Irminon, in the 9th century, and its learned editor Guérard has discussed the functions of the office with his usual care and sagacity. The decanus appears in the Lombard, Visigoth, and Salic laws, and the term indicates a civil judge whose official position may perhaps be traced to the decanus of the Roman army[2]. In the 13th century he appears at Norwich as a kind of justice of the peace with a recognised and special authority and position over a more or less extended area; translated into modern language he may be characterised as a police magistrate with considerable power of enforcing his sentences. The ecclesiastical dean may thus be regarded as an official exercising the same functions in causes ecclesiastical as the other did in civil matters, while the deans of Norwich, Bedingham
p. 46 and Lincoln, whom we meet with in the following pages, are the legitimate representatives and descendants of the *tyenthe-heved* of the laws of Edward the Confessor and of a much earlier time[3].

A century later, and even down to the close of the 14th century, we come upon this functionary continually in the proceedings of the Leets in Norwich. These Norwich deans are, if I mistake not, invariably laymen, and I cannot doubt that Mr Hudson has for once been wrong in confounding the civil with the ecclesiastical functionary. The civil dean must have disappeared by the absorption of his duties into those of other magistrates. The office of the ecclesiastical dean "was—at the Reformation—merged in that of the Archdeacon" only to be revived under the designation of "Rural Dean" in quite modern times[4].

[1] *Select Charters*, p. 75, § XXVIII.

[2] *Polyptique de l'Abbé Irminon* par M. B. Guérard, Paris 1844, Vol. I. pp. 44 and 456—464.

[3] See *Select Charters*, p. 67 *et seq.*, especially, p. 75.

[4] See *Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich*, during the 13th and 14th centuries. Ed. for the Selden Soc. by Rev. William Hudson, 1894. Introduction, p. xcii. and the Index under *Dean of the City of Norwich*.

Though it can hardly have been but that during all the reign of Stephen some of the old police organization survived and continued to some extent operative for the restraining the rapacity of some and punishing the violence of others, we must remember that legal procedure, courts of justice and even the very conception of statute law—in the sense we now attach to those terms—can scarcely be said to have existed in England during those bad times.

The wonderful revival of the study of Roman law exercised indeed upon all the keenest intellects of the 12th century an unparalleled fascination, and tended to draw away the thoughts and attention of many illustrious men even from the study of Theology. "It was as if a new gospel had been revealed[1]."

When, in 1149, Archbishop Theobald brought over into England Master Vacarius, one of the most celebrated Jurists of his time, and a crowd of scholars began eagerly to attend his lectures, Stephen set his face like a flint against the new learning and its great exponent, and tried to silence him by forbidding him to teach Roman law in England, and even prohibited the use of his books in the land[2].

It was one of the many, and not the least stupid, blunders which the king committed, and the more so because his orders could not be carried out. It was the crying need of the time that the ethical sentiments of the people should be educated to higher conceptions of justice and fair play. That truth for its own sake should be supremely desirable, only the very few were prepared to admit. A poor wretch accused of a crime was almost assumed to be guilty till he could prove the negative. Every one, judging from his own experience, took it for granted that every one else was inclined to violence, fraud, or enormous wickedness, and sure to commit these things if the chance of detection were reduced to a minimum. In truth it was more probable that a man charged with a heinous crime should be guilty than innocent.

If there was no sufficient evidence to substantiate the charge on the one hand, and yet no sufficient number of compurgators to support the denial on the other, there was only one way of settling the point. Let the appeal be made to the Judgment of God. An accuser had nothing to lose by this horrible challenge; the

[1] Pollock and Maitland, Vol. I. p. 89.

[2] Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, Vol. I. c. xii. § 147. Cf. too Pollock and Maitland, Vol. I. p. 97 *et seq.*

accused stood to lose everything. Godwin the priest could urge
p. 47 this upon the synod with a light heart; to the Jews it meant extermination, as Bishop Turbe himself admitted almost in so many words.

"Down to the ninth century," says Professor Maitland, "the opposition of the Church appears to have kept ordeal outside the recognised law[1]." Three hundred years before this, however, it appears to have been commonly resorted to among the Franks; and Gregory of Tours describes with some minuteness a case where the ordeal of boiling water was put in force in his own day[2].

Dr H. C. Lea of Philadelphia has dealt with the whole subject in his usual exhaustive manner, and has found traces of the invocation of the Judgment of God among many and various races of mankind at the very dawn of history[3]. In England the most common forms of the ordeal were that of boiling water (*judicium aquæ ferventis*), and the *judicium ferri*, or ordeal by red-hot iron. Instances of either one or the other are not very frequently to be met with in our English annals till the 12th century, but then they became hideously common. Both forms are named in the laws of Edward the Confessor[4], A.D. 1043—1066. The *judicium ferri* is mentioned in the so-called statutes of William the Conqueror[5]; the water ordeal is referred to in the Assize of Clarendon A.D. 1166.

In the very valuable collection of Pleas of the Crown edited by Prof. Maitland for the Selden Society in 1887, there are no fewer than fifteen instances of a resort to the ordeal by water, and nine to the ordeal by hot iron between the years 1200 and 1225; in one case, both forms of the dreadful process appear to have been put in force simultaneously. When the cry rose up from the cruel crowd at the Norwich synod, calling for the Judgment of God, the denials and protestations of the wretched Jews went for nothing, and if the fierce-eyed fanatics could have had their way, there would have been just as little chance of escape for their victims as there had been a thousand years before, when just such a loud and hateful cry had been answered by flinging the Christians to the lions. Happily the time was coming when these detestable perversions of justice, which had too long been allowed

[1] Pollock and Maitland, Vol. I. p. 15.
[2] *De Gloria Martyrum*, 80.
[3] *Superstition and Force*, Pt. III.
[4] *Select Charters*, p. 74.
[5] *Id.* p. 81.

to go on under the blasphemous pretence of invoking the Heavenly Father to do justice between man and man, were abolished. The popes had very early set themselves against the ordeal: but it took a long time before the populace or their rulers could be brought to a better mind and to regard these abominations in their true light.

Though the Lateran Council of 1215 formally forbade any ecclesiastic taking part in these ordeals, and though by this time all the great theologians condemned and denounced them as having no warrant in divine law and forbidden by the Church—yet the superstition, like every other superstition, died hard, and the other form of ordeal—the trial by combat—survived long after the others had ceased to be sanctioned or resorted to.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORWICH JEWS.

THE original story of the Jews at Inmestar who were punished by the magistrates on a charge of beating a boy to death in the 5th century is to be found in the ecclesiastical history of Socrates, who was alive at the time of the occurrence. It is quite incredible that the monk Thomas could have read it in the original Greek; but we shall see that there was a Latin translation of the story to which he might have had access. The circumstances of the time were favourable to its revival, and the intense and increasingly bitter feeling against the Jewish communities—who enjoyed a kind of privileged position in some of the more important English towns[1] during the 12th century—was preparing people to believe that the objects of their fierce hatred were capable of perpetrating every kind of wanton cruelty.

The cause of this ill feeling is not far to seek, inasmuch as the Jews were the only financiers, money-lenders and pawnbrokers[2] who were tolerated. To receive any interest for money advanced on security was denounced as a breach of the moral law which the Church sternly condemned: yet the capital required by those who embarked in commercial ventures—or were engaged in those architectural works which were the rage of the time—had to be

[1] Mr Jacobs in his remarkable monograph, *The Jews of Angevin England* (Nutt, 1893), shows that in the 12th century there were communities of Jews in Cambridgeshire, Oxford, Essex, Lincoln, Kent and Winchester. The Jews in London were a very wealthy body. In Norfolk and Suffolk, however—which were to the England of the period what Lancashire is to the England of to-day—the Jews were evidently numerous, and occupied a very important financial position. The tribute levied from the Jews at Norwich amounted to an annual payment which constituted a considerable item in the accounts of the king's revenue.

[2] See p. 15...pallia, pellicias, vel cetera hujusmodi, *seu quæ in vadimonio habebant &c.*

found somewhere, and the Jews, who had no scruple in charging their price for providing the accommodation required, were the only capitalists to apply to for assistance. The interest charged was very high; it could hardly be otherwise when, for obvious reasons, the security was difficult to realise, and in the case of an utterly dishonest and unscrupulous debtor the chances of recovering the loan, or even the interest, might easily be reduced to the vanishing point.

As Miss Norgate has put it, "the Jew was not a member of "the State, he was the king's chattel not to be meddled with "for good or evil save at the king's own bidding. Exempt from "toll and tax and from the fines of justice, he had the means "of accumulating a hoard of wealth which might indeed be seized "at any moment by an arbitrary act of the king, but which the "king's protection guarded with jealous care against all other "interference. The capacity in which the Jew usually appears "is that of a money-lender—an occupation in which the scruples "of the Church forbade Christians to engage lest they should be "contaminated by the sin of usury. Fettered by no such scruples "the Hebrew money-lenders drove a thriving trade, and their loans "doubtless contributed to the material benefit of the country by "providing means for a greater extension of commercial enterprise "than would have been possible without such aid[1]."

William of Malmesbury tells us that the Jews were first brought over by William the Conqueror from Rouen and established in London[2]. They appear to have been settled as a privileged community of financiers on the edge of the Walbrook, which perhaps served at once as the boundary and one of the defences of the London Jewry at least as early as the reign of Henry I.[3] All through the days of William Rufus they seem to have been treated with remarkable toleration; though efforts sometimes successful were made for their conversion[4], and we hear that some p. 94 of them who had been persuaded to renounce their ancestral faith and embrace Christianity were actually paid to return to their Judaism by the king in one of those fierce freaks of his

[1] Norgate I. p. 53.

[2] *Gesta Regum* IV. c. 317.

[3] Norgate I. 46, Jacobs, p. 13.

[4] St Anselm seems to have interested himself very much in the conversion of the Jews, and the disputation of a Jew with a Christian, which has been printed in his works, is given by Jacobs, pp. 7—12.

which almost make us doubt his sanity. The Jews appear very early at Cambridge and Oxford[1] and probably their settlements may have been found in the larger towns at an earlier time than has been recorded.

If the Jews had confined their operations to the financing of large undertakings they might conceivably have had the great bulk of the people on their side—for the building of the great churches and religious houses meant extensive employment of labour and this meant circulation of money among the employed—but the habits and instincts of the Hebrews made them money-lenders to small and great, and when it came to the artizans and the needy small folk among the townsmen resorting to them for small loans and leaving their clothes in pledge, and when the
p. 15 interest could not be paid and the security was forfeited, then the feeling of the populace was easily stirred against the Jew even to frenzy. It was the old story over again,

periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
cœperat.

The Jewish community meanwhile were under the special protection of the king and the king's representative, the sheriff. They did not live in houses of their own, they were tenants
p. 25 at will as it seems, who might be turned out at any moment. At Norwich, at any rate during the time we are concerned with, it seems that there was no Jew living in an important house of his own as Aaron, the son of Isaac, was doing at Oxford[2], and no house appears ever to have been built in Norwich at all comparable to the still existing stone houses known as Moyse Hall at Bury St Edmund's, or that of Aaron of Lincoln, which is probably the oldest domestic building existing in England[3]. The Norwich Jews were living together in a settlement or block of buildings the boundaries of which may be distinctly traced at the present day, and the Jews were outside the jurisdiction of the old burg which was on the other side of the Castle. That mighty fortress had only recently been built, and was a standing menace to the older burghers, between whom and the inhabitants of the new burgh there were relations not always friendly. The attempt on the part of the clergy and the bishop to make the Jews answer to a capital charge

[1] Jacobs, p. 4.
[2] Jacobs, p. 8.
[3] Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*, I. p. 7.

before the synod was manifestly an attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the king's men, and the attitude of the sheriff was the only attitude which he could have assumed consistently with his responsibility for the rights of those—whether Jews or Gentiles—for whose protection he was answerable.

The Jews appear to have returned to their Jewry and we hear p. 36
of no serious molestation of them for a long time to come; the attempt to carry out a general massacre completely failed. As to the infamous murder of the Jew, Eleazar, by the ruffians in the pay of Sir Simon de Novers, it was an incident which stands p. 98
quite alone, though an incident which, as related in these pages, reflects some discredit on the memory of Bishop William Turbe. Thomas of Monmouth's insinuation that the Norwich Jews suffered severely in their persons and their property as a consequence of their complicity in the guilt of little William's murder, must be taken for what it is worth; we may be pretty sure that if instances could have been adduced of any large number of the Hebrews *vel festine mortis interitu deleti vel christianorum manibus perempti*, we should have had them in the author's diffuse narrative.

Assuming that this narrative covers a period of some 30 years, namely from A.D. 1144 till A.D. 1174, there is no evidence to show that the Norwich Jews suffered worse than their brethren elsewhere did during the reign of Stephen, or indeed during that of Henry II. What does seem clear is that it was at Norwich first that the Christian population threatened and meditated a wholesale massacre of the Jews, and that the plan would have been p. 47
carried out but for the intervention of the Sheriff. The edict of Stephen alluded to at p. 95 shows that the king protected his Jews so far as he was able against the violence of the mob: and, whatever we may think of the very suspicious story of Ælward Ded, it was not generally believed at the time it was promulgated, p. 27
and indeed during the five years that had passed since the Synod of 1144 the doubters were at least as numerous as the believers.

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It is hardly within my province to dwell upon the subsequent history of the Norwich Jews till the time of their expulsion from England in 1290. All that is ever likely to be known of the hard measure dealt out to this much oppressed people in England has been collected in Mr Jacobs' volume already referred to. Unfortunately that carries us no further than to the death of king John. The hideous massacre of Jews at the coronation of Richard I.—such is

the contagion of these mysterious instincts, cruelty and the lust of blood—was repeated next year at Norwich as at other places up and down the land. Yet the Jews continued to increase in wealth and a certain measure of power, notwithstanding all the horrible treatment they received. They managed to extort for themselves increasing recognition at the hands of the king—who could not do without them—and concessions little by little were made in their favour, all in the direction of justice and toleration[1]. Perhaps the most surprising fact that has but recently come to light is that among the English Jews there were men of profound learning; the inextinguishable enthusiasm for literary pursuits affording them something like an alleviation in the midst of the prolonged agonies through which the poor people were compelled to pass.

Mr Walter Rye has taken up the tale where Mr Jacobs leaves it. To the East Anglian Mr Rye's memorable paper in his own privately printed *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, 1877, Vol. I. pp. 312—344, must always be eminently interesting, for Mr Rye deals only with the Norfolk Jews; his work is a priceless contribution to the history of a painful subject by a man of indefatigable research and of great intelligence and sagacity. Mr Rye shows us that in the first half of the 13th century the Jews were continually increasing in numbers at Norwich—that in 1230 some fanatics among them seized the child of a Jewish physician (who, it appears, had become converted to Christianity) and circumcised him—that the Jewry was set on fire—that the king was appealed to—that the anti-Semitic frenzy among the Norwich citizens was as violent as it is now in Central Europe; and the inference that is forced upon us is that the legislation of Edward I. against the English Jews was sure to come sooner or later. Moreover just as the enormous lying which prepared people to accept as true the unspeakable calumnies spread abroad against the Knights Templars in the 14th century, and the hideous slanders which were invented against the inmates of the Religious houses in the 16th, were powerful factors in facilitating the pillage of the Templars in the one case and the suppression of the Monasteries in the other, so the continued repetition of the stories of Christian children being 'martyred' by infatuated Jews contributed not a little, and must have contributed, to prepare men's minds to accept with

[1] A great deal of very curious and valuable information on the treatment of the Jews in England has been collected in Mr L. O. Pike's *History of Crime in England*, Vol. I. [London Smith & Elder, 1873.] The Index is excellent.

equanimity the final catastrophe; though few can have known or had any suspicion that the original story came from Norwich and that Thomas of Monmouth, writing his bombastic book in the Norwich priory, first stirred up that mighty wave of superstitious credulity, unreasoning hate, and insatiable ferocity, which has not yet spent itself, though more than seven centuries have passed since Thomas took his pen in hand.

NOTE.

By the Rev. W. Hudson.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORWICH IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY, AS LIKELY TO AFFECT THE JEWS RESIDENT IN THE CITY.

The firm and persistent stand made by the Sheriff in the protection of the Jews when accused of the crucifixion of the boy William may be perhaps sufficiently explained by the fact that the Jews were the "King's Chattels," for damage to whom the Sheriff might be called to account. A consideration, however, of the political state of the city at that time, so far as we are able to trace it, will afford a further explanation of this feature of the narrative.

In the time of Edward the Confessor the "villa" of Norwich as described in Domesday Survey comprehended a circuit round the Castle Hill beginning with Berstreet southwards, sweeping round by the east, north and north-west to the street called Pottergate, comprising the districts then probably, as afterwards, known by the names of Conesford, Westwyk and Coslanye. *The western side, afterwards called Mancroft, was not yet occupied.*

The whole "villa" was not entirely homogeneous as to jurisdiction, but the exceptions were comparatively small. Fifty burgesses, resident between Tombland and the river, belonged to Stigand, bishop of Thetford; 32 belonged to Earl Harold, somewhere near the Castle, but no less than 1238 occupying the rest of the "villa" are described as being "in burgo" and under the normal jurisdiction of the King and Earl, the former taking two-thirds of the profits and the latter one-third. The meeting place of the men of this flourishing "burgh," when they gathered together for their borough-mote, there is good reason to think was on Tombland, and almost certainly the common market must have been there also.

Soon after the Norman Conquest, great troubles fell upon the burgh owing to the rebellion of Earl Ralph, so that at the time of the Survey in 1086, only 665 out of 1238 burgesses could be accounted for. The political importance of the Saxon "burgess" was further weakened by another result of the Conquest. Before his rebellion Earl Ralph, by arrangement with the King, had granted lands in his demesne, to the west of the Castle, to be formed into a New Burgh between himself and the King. The burgesses who occupied it were Frenchmen, who, at the time of the Survey already numbered 123, including some "milites." This statement, made in formal terms in the Survey, can imply nothing less than the formation of a new, and under the circumstances, a rival municipal organization, a new French burgh as distinguished from the English burgh, as was the case at Nottingham and doubtless in other places. Moreover in this new district was established a new market, which either by authority or by natural development soon superseded the older one.

Such was the state of affairs at the commencement of the 12th century. By the early part of the 13th the two rival burghs had become fused together into four municipal divisions under one government, the "new burgh" under the name of Mancroft taking the second place in precedence. This fusion may have been effected by the time of King Richard's charter of self-government in 1194, but perhaps not completely till the appointment of four bailiffs in place of a borough-reeve in 1223.

The question is, How far had this fusion proceeded at the time of our narrative? There is little evidence to show. One statement certainly seems to imply that the two separate organizations were still in existence. In 1140, King Stephen granted to his son William the "town and borough of Norwich in which there were 1238 burgesses that held of the king in burgage tenure," and also the "castle and burgh thereof in which there were 123 burgesses that held of the king in burgage tenure," &c. Now these numbers are exactly the same as the numbers given in the Survey of 1086. We must therefore suppose either that the royal clerks copied the old description without verification, or, as is more likely, that William could claim the burgage rents of those particular burgesses but not of any others. Still, the term "burgh of the castle" instead of "new burgh" may be held to imply that the French burgh was still a separate organization and—an important addition—in close connection with the castle, the residence of a Norman Earl or a Norman Sheriff.

Further than this, the town had not yet the right of self-government. Its borough reeve was still appointed by the king and subordinate to the sheriff. Here comes in another consideration. Each of

the two burghs must at first have had its own reeve, and there is a curious piece of evidence suggesting that this continued even into the 13th century. Blomefield, under the reign of Henry III, gives the names of four Provosts (or Reeves) for the years 1216 to 1219. As a matter of fact these four names are taken from the "Old Free Book" of the City of Norwich where they are said to be without date and are coupled together in pairs. In each case one name has a decidedly French tinge.

On the whole, then, it seems reasonable to conclude that in 1149, when this charge was brought, the town was still divided into two distinct and alien organizations, the Norman burgesses in the new burgh, the English in the old.

It was, of course, with the former that the Jews were entirely bound up, at least so far as they lived in the Jewry,—as no doubt they all did, with very few exceptions. A description of the locality will shew that they were as closely as possible connected with the Castle. The Castle Hill was surrounded by a moat which still exists. Beyond the outer bank of the moat, the southern and eastern lands were enclosed by two horseshoe shaped banks, the southern enclosure being called the Castle Fee and the eastern the Castle Meadow. The main entrance to the Castle proper was from the east between these two banks. When, however, the new Norman quarter had sprung up on the west and the new Market was becoming a nucleus of population, another entrance was made from the neighbourhood of the Market into the southern enclosure or Castle Fee. This was by the street called in the 13th century Vicus de Sellaria or Sadelgate. It was on the south side of the Sadelgate that the 13th century Jewry was situated. Kirkpatrick has suggested that it was removed to that spot in the middle of the 13th century from an earlier site. But he admits that there is no real evidence of the occupation of the earlier site. On the other hand the extreme suitability of the Sadelgate site makes it more than probable that it was so used from the first. The Jews belonged to the king and were under the special protection of his local representative. Where would they be better placed than immediately outside the Castle enclosure and at the very spot where access between the Castle and the Market was established? There also they would be surrounded by the burgesses whose sympathies were on the side of the king and the Castle. In case of a popular tumult, too, a few minutes would place them within the safe protection of the Castle enclosure.

The conducting of the accused Jews from the Jewry to the Bishop's court would not involve the danger of taking them through the streets of the city. Bishop Herbert had obtained the site of the Earl's Palace

MAP OF NORWICH
TO ILLUSTRATE
THE STORY OF ST WILLIAM.

A. Mentioned in a deed of 14 E. I. as "via que ducit ad curiam Comitatus." See Harrod, *Castles and Convents*, &c., p. 132.

B. Mentioned in a deed of 30 E. I. as "via qua itur ad Castellum." See Harrod, *Castles and Convents*, p. 140.

C. Site of Earl's Palace, removed by Bp. Herbert.

D. Here was formerly a footpath (see Harrod, *Castles and Convents*, p. 140). Somewhere near must have been the communication with the Earl's Palace.

E. Fybridge is mentioned in a grant of c. 1150 (see Kirkpatrick's *Streets and Lanes*, &c., p. 84).

F. The line F...F marks the line of the bank made by royal license in 1253, afterwards surmounted by a wall. It is said to have greatly enlarged the circuit of the city (*Streets and Lanes*, p. 111). How it was defined or defended before is unknown.

and pulled it down, so that between the north circuit of the Castle Meadow and the entrance to the monastic precinct from Tombland only a short space of ground had to be covered. No doubt from the first, as at a later time, a postern gate at that point in the enclosing bank of the Castle Meadow gave access to Tombland and the Monastery. Nearly the whole way therefore from the Jewry to the Monastery would be through the safe enclosures of the Castle.

One more consideration illustrating the political situation in the city at this period may be added. The Castle, which up to the time of the Norman Conquest had been the stronghold of a native lord, such as the Earl of the East Angles, who did not shut himself up in it but lived in his Palace between the Castle Meadow and Tombland, had from the time of the Conquest become an instrument of foreign domination. Even in the Conqueror's time a stone castle of some kind had been built. But according to the best judgment of architectural evidence, it was reserved for Hugh Bigot, just about the time of our narrative, to rear the massive Keep which still forms so splendid a memorial of the past. We may easily imagine the awe with which the English burgesses would mark the uprearing of this mighty engine of tyranny, and how hopeless a contest with its master would seem.

These various considerations may help to explain why the Sheriff should have had no antecedent sympathy with a popular outcry, and why, feeling himself responsible for preventing damage being done to the Jews, he also had it in his power to ensure them an efficient protection such as on similar but later occasions elsewhere they failed to obtain.

CHAPTER V.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

THE manuscript from which the work of Thomas of Monmouth is printed here—and it is the only copy of his work which is known—formed part of a Library bequeathed about the year 1700 to the Parish of Brent Eleigh in Suffolk by a certain Mr Edward Colman, sometime of Trinity College, Cambridge. The collection included some nine MSS, and among them were two of no ordinary interest. One was the Gospel-book of St Margaret of Scotland, which was purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1887; the other was the volume containing the Life of St William. Seven out of the nine MSS are now in the University Library at Cambridge, for which they were bought from the Trustees of the Brent Eleigh Library in 1889[1]. An eighth is in the Fitzwilliam Museum: the other, as has been said, is at Oxford.

I had been myself, to some extent, instrumental in procuring the books for Cambridge: and it was with extreme pleasure that on examination I discovered, first that here was a copy of Thomas of Monmouth's Life of St William, and next, that no other copy seemed to be known.

Into the other steps preliminary to the appearance of the present edition it is not necessary to enter. To communicate my discovery to Dr Jessopp was an obvious step; when his help was once secured I felt sure that Thomas would be presented to the public under the best possible auspices.

Something must be said, however, of the volume itself. It is a small folio numbered Add. 3037 in the University Library. It is written in a fine hand (or two hands), on good parchment, in

[1] This is not quite correct. Six of the books were bought from the trustees: the other, a copy of Martial, had been sold with the Gospel-book in 1887, and was acquired for the University Library in 1895.

double columns of 31—32 lines each and consists of two volumes bound in one. Its date I should place somewhat before 1200. It retains its original wooden boards, formerly fastened by a strap and pin. The collation is as follows:

*[2] (1 stuck to the cover, 2 gone): a^8—k^8: I^8 II^8 III^8 (2 mutilated) IV^8—VII^8 VIII^8 (wants 4, 5, 6) IX^8—XI^8: 166 leaves remain out of 170.

The contents are as follows:

I. 1. Thomas of Monmouth's Life of St William of Norwich.
This ends on f. 77 *a*.

2. Isaaci Abbatis Stellensis Epistola de officio missae, ad Dominum Johannem Archiepiscopum Lugdunensem . . . . . f. 77 *b*
Domino et patri in Christo semper uenerabili et digne amando J. dei gratia Pictauensi Episcopo frater Ysaac dictus abbas stelle salutem.
Ending on f. 80 *b*.: fideliter et feruenter reminiscitur. Explicit epistola domini Ysaac abbatis de officio missae.
This tract is printed in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxciv. The author's date is 1169.

3. An extract beginning:
(S)maragdus preciosus lapis est in sua natura.
Ending: et in Cristi doctrina confortant.

II. 1. Vita S. Wulurici anachoretae[1] by John, abbot of Ford . . . . . f. 1
See on this Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, ii. 267.

2. Vita S. Godrici de Finchale[2] . . . . . f. 39 *b*
This is an abbreviated form of the Life. It occurs anonymously in Harl. 322.

In the present MS it is ascribed to "Walterus," but in Stevenson's edition (Surtees Society, 1847) of Reginald's long Life of St Godric, this shorter Life is described as a preliminary and shorter form of Reginald's book by Reginald himself. It is thus arranged in our MS.

[1] St Wuluric died in 1154.
[2] St Godric died in 1170.

f. 39 *b*. Explicit uita b. Wulurici anachorete.
Incipit prefatio domini Walteri in abreuiatione uite b. Godrici de finchal.
Ut satisfacerem.
Expl. prefatio. Inc. argumentum.
Sanctissimus heremita Godricus.
f. 40. Capitula (lxxv) agreeing with those given by Stevenson.
f. 41 *b*. Incipit uita.
Uirtutes et uitam.
Ends on f. 85 (88): followed by fifty-two hexameters, in a smaller hand, beginning:
Stephane, tu tanti mensuram nominis imple
Et sta pro phano ne tu dicare prophanus
and ending:
Quicquid obest et in hanc radicem mitte securim
Ne radice ingens in peius pullulet arbor.
The verso is blank.

The condition of the MS is very good, save that it has, in the earlier pages in particular, suffered from damp at the left-hand upper corner. This will account for certain bracketed supplements which appear in the text.

From what monastery it came I am quite unable to suggest. There is an old (xivth or xvth century) table of contents on the fly-leaf which is in parts illegible, but runs thus, so far as I can read it:

Volumen. | . .....
De Vita et passione sc̄i Will*elm*i martiris norwic.
[*added in cent. xvi:* per Thomam monumetensem monachum dedicat. willelmo episcopo Norvicensi].
Epistola dompni Ysaac abbatis Stellensis de officio misse ad domnum Iohannem.
Epistole. ii. Iohannis de forda. Item vita sc̄i Wlfrici anachorite eiusdem.
Vita sc̄i Godrici finchale cum miraculis [*added in margin:* per Walterum].
Item liber qui dicitur:
Rudis equitas et ius et idiomata (?) que iuris versatur (?) et sunt proprietates collecte sub compendio de codicis et digestorum.

This last tract is gone.

Here too, in a hand of the xviith century, is the name Fane Edge, which is found in most of the other MSS from Brent Eleigh.

I will here note, before passing to the discussion of the text of our MS, and other kindred topics, that the present edition is printed from an excellent transcript made by Mr A. Rogers of the University Library. I have collated the printed proofs with the manuscript.

The Text.

The date of the last miracle which Thomas records is 1172. Bishop Turbe died in January of 1174, and all seven books were written when Thomas wrote the Prologue, dedicating the book to him. The date of the composition is, then, most likely 1172—3. The date of the MS is, to my thinking, rather before than after 1200: all the tracts in it must have been composed before 1180. We are, then, dealing with a copy very near in time to the autograph of the author; and as we should expect, the text is in consequence extremely good. Moreover, our copy has been very carefully corrected. I had at first fancied that the corrections might have been in Thomas's own hand; but a subsequent examination does not tend to confirm that view. All that we can say is that the copy from which ours was made cannot in all likelihood have been separated by more than one step from Thomas's own: and it is quite likely to have been transcribed from the autograph itself. This likelihood is increased by the consideration that there cannot have been many copies of the book made, and most probably all that existed were made at Norwich.

One other point remains to be noticed. The MS, as a general rule, is singularly free from corruptions: but in the only document which is copied into the text from another source, —namely, the letter of the monk of Pershore which occurs in the last chapter but one of the whole work,—three or four bad mistakes occur. Had our MS been the work of a copyist at all far removed from the date of Thomas's autograph, mistakes similar to these would, I think, have crept into other parts of the text. Their absence from it proves that we are dealing with a near descendant of the author's copy.

The History of the Book.

I begin the investigation of this subject by laying before the reader the *locus classicus* on the Life of St William, namely his Legend as given by John Capgrave in the *Nova Legenda Angliae.* The portions italicised are those which are verbally borrowed from Thomas of Monmouth.

I. i 1. Sanctus enim Willelmus ex patre *Wenstano* et matre *Elwina rurali* opere *uitam agentibus ac necessariis uitae subsidiis admodum abundantibus* natus est. Impraegnanti autem matri et *dormienti* uisio talis accidit: uidebat *piscem qui lucius dicitur, pinnas rubicundas et tamquam sanguine aspersas duodecim habentem,* quem cum in sinum posuisset, *uidebatur piscis se mouere, et paullatim adeo succrescere ut iam sinus ipsum comprehendere non posset: assumptisque subito alis sursum uolauit, nubesque transiens, aperto sibi coelo, in ipsum se recepit.* Cumque *patri* suo sacerdoti, *plurimam exponendarum uisionum peritiam habenti,* cuncta per ordinem *retulisset,* ait: *Noueris, filia, te impraegnari, filiumque parituram, qui in terris honorem maximum consequetur, et super altitudinem nubium eleuatus, in coelum duodennis exaltabitur.*

I. ii 2. Nato itaque puero et *ablactato, cum pater eius Wenstanus affines* ad conuiuium inuitasset, *poenitentialis quidam brachia ferreis innexus nexibus, quasi ad eleemosynam conuiuantibus intererat: qui cum puerulum manibus quasi applaudendo teneret, puer puerili simplicitate, ferreos admirans nexus, eos palpauit;* et ecce *subito uincula rumpuntur in partes dissilientes.*

Cum autem *septennis* puer *esset, coepit adeo abstinentiae amator existere, ut tribus in hebdomade feriis ieiunaret: nonnullos* uero *pane contentus transigebat dies: ecclesiam frequentabat, psalmos et orationes*
I. iii *dicebat*[1], *et quaecumque Dei erant summa uenerabatur reuerentia.* Tandem apud Norwicum cuidam pellipario in *arte* illa *traditur instruendus.*

I. v 3. Tandem in quodam festo Paschae, Iudaei in urbe morantes puerum subdole *hospitia* eorum *intrare* alliciunt, *subito*que *rapiunt,* et *uariis modis illusum per utrasque fauces ad posteriorem colli partem reductis corrigiis firmissimo astringunt nodo. Postmodum uero breui funiculo auricularis fere digiti habente grossitudinem, arrepto, trinumque in eo certis locis assignantes nodum, caput illud innocens a fronte in occiput circumcingunt. Medium quippe fronti nodum extremosque alios hinc et inde temporibus imprimentes, utrarumque partium capitibus ad occiput strictissimo confecto ibi nodo, quod supererat funiculi circum*

[1] discebat.

collum itidem hinc et inde ad anteriora colli sub mento contrahentes reducunt; ibique illud insolitum tormenti genus in quinto nodo consummant.

4. *Capite quoque post hoc raso, infinitis illud spinarum punctionibus uulnerant, innocentem*que *a terra sublatum patibulo extinguere contend*ebant. *Sinistro eius lateri usque ad cordis intima uulnus acerbum infligunt,* et ut *sanguinem per totum corpus* re*fluentem*[1] *reprime*rent, *a capite deorsum feruentissimam aquam infuderunt. Sicque martyr gloriosus* [xvii. Kal. Mai.] migrauit ad Dominum. Die quoque I. vii
Paschae *corpus* in *sacco* ponitur, ut extra uillam ad siluam deductum secretius in ea sepeliretur. Cumque *siluam intrarent,* obuiauit eis *burgensis quidam Norwici* nomine Eiluerdus[2], qui *paullisper gradum continuit: quo tenderent,* quidue deferrent, *inquisiuit:* et *propius accedens, manusque iniiciens, humanum esse corpus deprehendit. Illi uero se deprehensos expauescentes, et prae* timore[3] *nihil habentes quod dicerent, siluae densitatem* fugiendo *ingressi sunt, corpus*que *linea cordella* in arbore *suspenderunt.*

5. Ineuntes autem Judaei consilium *Vicecomitem* adeunt, et *si ope* I. viii
sua liberari a tanto periculo possent, centum marcas argenti pollicentur. *Eiluerdus confestim accersitus, iubente Vicecomite et cogente fide et iuramento constringitur, quod uita comite Iudaeos non infamaret, et usque ad extremum uitae suae diem uisa non detegeret. Euolutis etenim annis quinque, Eiluerdus, ad extremum uitae* perueniens, *ab ipso sacro puero Wilhelmo per uisum admonetur ut quae uiderat quibus uellet reuelare non* timeret: factumque est ita. *His intra urbem gestis,* ecce I. ix
ignea de coelo lux subito emicuit, quae usque ad martyris *locum tractim se porrigens, oculis* multorum *diuersis* in *locis effulsit. Videbatur autem lux illa in duos diuisa radios scalae longissimae tenere formam, ab imo in altum se porrigentis ad orientem.*

6. *Sabbato* enim Sancto Paschae *monialis* quaedam cum *quibusdam* I. x
aliis *ante solis ortum iter arripiens* siluae *densitatem* deuota ingreditur, *intuens*que *eminus ad radicem quercus iacentem puerum tunicatum, calceatum, capite rasum:* et *foemineo correpta timore propius accedere non praesumpsit. Aspexit* autem *super illum coruos duos, qui uoracitatis rabiem explere gestientes rostro eum discerpere certatim attentabant: sed nullatenus tangere neque se sustinere ualentes, huic et inde a latere cadebant.* His uisis *mulier* Deo gratias agens, ad *domum regressa,* quae uiderat palam cunctis enarrauit. Turba igitur *cateruatim ad siluam* I. xii
properat, poenarumque signis ac re gesta euidenter *consideratis, Iudaeos* a *reatu non immunes affirmant,* et corpus sanctum sepulturae cum gaudio tradunt.

[1] deflu. [2] Aeluerdus. [3] stupore.

II. iii 7. *Monachi quidam ramusculum, qui tempore estiuo in claustro floribus roseis uernans iam efflorueral, ad caput sepulcri Sancti Martyris circa festum S. Michaelis transplantarunt:* qui *continuo terrae radicitus adhaesit, et reuirescentibus foliis non sine magna omnium admiratione refloruit, uniuersis floribus usque ad festum S. Edmundi in ramusculo perseuerantibus.* Tuncque *uehemens imbrium et uentorum exorta procella omnes praeter unum excussit,* qui usque ad *natalem in ramusculi* summitate recens *perdurauit.*

I. iv 8. Fuit uir *quidam diuturna* infirmitate detentus *totoque imbecillis corpore iacens: ingrauescente tandem morbi angustia in extasim raptus* Angelo duce *per loca diuersa,* horrida[1] et *amoena, deducitur: innumerabilem* uero *turbam diuersis cruciari poenis: nonnullos quos in uita cognouerat,* uidit: *qui familiaria quaedam et secreta ei tradentes intersignia*[2] *quibusdam adhuc* uiuentibus *per ipsum mandando notificant, eosdem illis praeparatos cruciatus, nisi ab his et illis poenitentes criminibus desistant. Florigeram amoenissimamque ingreditur regionem, innumeram ibi hominum* copiam in *gloriae inaestimabilis gaudio positam cernit, et inde per uiam diuersis constratam floribus digrediens ante sedentem in throno Dominum tandem adductus constitit*[3], *atque in coruscae lucis fulgore defixo intuitu uidit*[4] *Dominum, throno aureo sedentem, lapidibus pretiosis ornato, et sanctorum millia ante eum.*

9. *Vidit*[4] *quoque a dextris in maiestate sedentis B. Virginem Mariam et ad pedes* Domini *puerum conspicit quasi duodennem, scabello aureo residentem: cuius habit*um *niue candidior et uultus splendidior sole, et in capite eius corona fulgebat aurea, pretiosissimis undique lapidibus insignita: cui pariter congratulabantur Sanctorum chori eumque maxime uenerabantur ordines angelici, quibus uisis angelo ait: Quis est hic, Domine, cui tantus honor impenditur?* Et ille: *Hic est cui honor debetur perpetuus, quem in derisum Dominicae passionis et opprobrium his sacris diebus Iudaei Noruicenses peremerunt, eiusque debetur meritis quod ad sepulcrum illius remedium suscipias sanitatis. Et his dictis inde continuo assumitur, et suo corpori restituitur. Remeante uero anima subito omne corpus contremuit,* et *rediuiuus apparuit* et cunctis seriatim quae uiderat enarrauit; Noruicum adiit, et sanitatem sine mora recepit.

10. Multa insuper miracula pro suo Martyre glorioso Dominus ostendere dignatus est: inter quae caecos quatuor[5], mutos quinque[6], hydropicos duos[7], daemoniacos tres et epilepticos[8], contractos[9], surdos[10],

[1] horribilia. [2] intersigna. [3] consistit. [4] uidet.
[5] IV. ii, v. xvii. [6] VII. ix, v. xvii. [7] III. xxvi, v. viii.
[8] IV. iii, v. xii, xiii, VII. iii, VI. vii. [9] v. xiv–xvi, ch. VII. x.
[10] VII. ix, III. xiii.

naufragio periclitantes[1], compeditos[2], gibbosos[3], ac alios uariis morbis aut periculis afflictos, sanauit, liberauit ac soluit.

To this shall be appended the English version which appears in Wynkyn de Worde's *Newe Legende of Englande*, f. cv. *a* sqq.

Seynt Wyllyam the chylde / and martyr was borne in Englonde / and when his moder was wyth chylde of hym she sawe in a vysyon a fysshe called a luce w^t^ ·xii· red fynnys lyke as it had been sparkelyd with blode / and when she had put the fysshe into her bosom she thought it grewe so moch that her bosome coulde not holde it / and sodeynly it flewe aboue the Cloudys into heuen / and a preest that had great grace in expoūdynge of vysyons / sayde she shulde haue a blessyd Chylde that in the age of ·xii· yerys shuld goo into Heuyn / And when he was a yonge chylde it happenyd hym to touch ye Irōs of a man that was fetteryd / And anon the Irons felle of. And when he was but ·vii· yere olde he wolde faste thre dayes in ye weke / and wolde be at the Chyrche in prayer / And after at norwych he was put to a skynner to enfourme / where on an Estre daye he was taken pryvely by the Jues / and they in despyte of oure Lorde mockyd hym / and cruelly martyryd hym / they thruste all ye blode oute of his Hedde with cordys / and then they dyd shaue his Hedde and pryckyd it with thornys / and put hym vpon a Crosse and thruste hym into the lefte syde greuously / and so by great Martyrdome he went to our Lorde the ·vii· kalendas of Maye / and that doon they caryed hym towardes a wood to hyde hym / And a Crysten man came by them and perseyuyd that they caryed a deed man / wherfore they feryd moche and pryuely hunge hym vp in a Tree in the Wode with a corde / and wente to the Sheryfe and for a .C. marke / the Sheryfe causyd the man to be sworne that he shulde neuer dyscouer it whyle he lyuyd / and v yerys after when he shulde dye Seynt wyllyam apperyd to hym / and bade hym that he shulde dyscouer hit ferynge nothynge / (f. cv *b*) / And so he dyd / and then a lyghte fro heuyn shewyd vppō the place where he laye / And after on an Eester euyn his Bodye was founde by a Nonne in the wode lyenge at ye Roote of an Oke in his Cote hosed / and shodde / and his Hedde shauen / and there were by hym two Crowes that attemptyd to haue Torne hym / and etyn hym / But they hadde no power therto / and then hee was takyn vp with all the people / and buryed with great Joye / A man that had ben longe syke was ledde in a vysyon by an Aungell into a goodlye place full of plesaunte Flourys / and there he sawe our Lorde syttynge in a Trone / and innumerable of Aungellys / and Seyntys aboute hym / and on his ryght hande in great magestye was the Sete of oure blessyd Ladye / and at the Feet of our Lorde he

[1] VI. xvii, IV. x, III. xix. [2] V. x, VI. xviii. [3] VI. xii.

sawe a Chylde aboute the age of ·xii· yerys syttynge in a sete of golde and a Crowne of Golde vppon his hedde his Face shynynge bryghte as the sonne / and Aungellys dyd honour to hym / Then he askyd of the Aungell who he was / and the Aungell sayde this is he that in derysyon and opprobrye of the passyon of our Lorde the Jues of Norwyche dyd put to deth / and by hym he sayde he shulde be made hoole / And so he vanysshed awaye / and when his spyryte was come agayne to the Bodye he went to Norwyche and was made hoole as the Aungell sayde / and many other myracles / our lord hath shewyd for this blessyd Chylde foure that were blynde / fyue that were mute / two of the dropsye / thre vexyd with Deuylls / and men of the fallynge sykenes / dome (? some) perysshynge in the see feterd and deformyd / and of dyuerse other sykenesse were helyd and delyuered by thys gloryouse martyr.

It is clear that Capgrave's sole source for the above is Thomas of Monmouth. The references I have added shew that he had the whole book before him, and the variants from our text are nowhere important. One mistake he has fallen into. He places the martyrdom on the seventeenth of the Kalends of May. The English says the seventh. But this is in reality the date of the translation of the body from Thorpe Wood to the cloister: and it has suffered corruption. The date as given by Thomas (I. xviii.) is the eighth of the Kalends of May (Ap. 24).

In R. Whytford's *Martiloge*, written for Syon Monastery and reprinted for the Henry Bradshaw Society from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1526, the feast is put on the 15th of April.

Our next witness is Leland. In his *Collectanea*, IV. 27 (25 in marg.) he enumerates a few books *In Bibliotheca Christicolarum Nordovici*, i.e. in the library of the Priory. There are eight in all, and the eighth is thus described:

Vita S. Gulielmi Nordouicensis a Thoma monacho Monumetensi ad Gulielmum episcopum Nordouicensem scripta. Prologus carmine scriptus est: *Martyris egregii.* Cetera scribuntur soluta oratione.

The metrical Prologue probably never was in our MS, of which the first quire is complete: a fly-leaf, however, is gone, which may have contained it.

In the *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (c. 288), and in Bale (ii. 94) this notice is amplified, and appears thus:

Thomas Monemuthensis professione monachus, qui suo saeculo inter literatos nomen laudesque emeruit. Iudaei, perfidum genus hominum

et sanguinem sitiens Christianum, in Britannia suae stirpis radices alte fixerant. Horum grex pessimus Ventam Icenorum precario incolebant, ea urbis regione et insula ubi Abrahami aula etiam nunc de nomine nota extat. Inter caetera quae ibidem scelera multa designauerunt, illud imprimis impium, quod Hugonem quondam, puellum ingenuum, morti in Christi contumeliam tradiderint; deprehensi sceleris conscii et in crucem acti. Nec longo post tempore Iudaei urbe omnino expulsi. Claruit miraculis Hugonis sepulchrum. Ergo, ne Hugonis Martyris uita et mors obscura aliquando essent posteritati, rogatus Thomas Monemuthensis, charum ciuibus Ventanis et Deo pignus edito immortale fecit libello.

The blunder of substituting Hugh for William is corrected in the Trinity MS. of Leland, and in Bale and Pits. Bale adds the following matter:

De apostolis legimus quod uiui miracula fecerint. At Papistae sub Antichristi regno ex mortuis cadaueribus, uero quod maius est, ab eorum tumbis, seu ligneis seu lapideis, miracula decerpere et extorquere possunt. Ne huiusmodi igitur portenta deessent in adimplendis idololatriis, Thomas iste manum adhibuit, ac scripsit ad Guilhelmum de Turibes Nordouicensem episcopum,

Vitam Guilhelmi martyris Lib. 7. *Reuerendae sanctitatis patri et dom.*

Miracula eiusdem Guil. Lib. 1

atque alia quaedam. Claruit Thomas anno Christi 1160, sub rege Henrico secundo. Elvuina huius Guilhelmi mater (inquit Thomas) Vulvuardum sacerdotem genitorem habuit. Et soror eius Liuina, Godvuinum presbyterum maritum, qui genuit ex ea Alexandrum diaconum uxoratum, qui debebat in ministerio succedere patri.

From this it is clear that Bale had our book before him, and was not dependent upon Leland alone for his information. This is also apparent from a passage in Bale's scurrilous *Actes of English Votaryes* (1550), which I here append, as copied from the original edition (f. lxxxii *b*).

Prestes marryage at Norwyche, praysed and scorned.

Saint Wyllyam of Norwyche, a martyr, whych was ther shryned in Christes church abbeye, in the yeare of our lorde a .M. a .C. and xliiij. was crucifyed of the Jewes dwellyng than in a place yet called Abrahams hawle. Elwina thys S. Wyllyams mother had a prest to her father whose name was called Wulwarde, whyche was a man famouse, the storye sayth, both in a good lyfe and learnynge, plentuously hauynge the gyft of expow*u*(sic)yng secrete misteryes. Her other syster

Liuina beynge also thys prestes doughter, was ioyned in lawfull marryage to another preste called Goodwin. Thys prest had a sonne called Alexandre, whych was a marryed deacon, and loked after the decease of hys father, to enioye hys benefyce by inherytaunce. Eyther must thys legende of S. Wyllyam, writtē of Thomas Monmouth a monke of the same abbeye, be a wycked thynge for allowyng these two prestes marryages, eyther els that cytie of Norwyche hath had most wycked and tyrañouse rulers in this our tyme, etc.

In both these passages of Bale there is one fact mentioned which does not occur in our text of Thomas. This is the statement that Alexander the deacon, son of Godwin Sturt, was married, and that he looked to succeed his father in his benefice.

The only mention of Alexander in our text is on p. 38 (I. xiii.) where he is called "Godwin's son, at that time a deacon." It is quite possible that Bale's text had a further clause here, which was either the insertion of a contemporary, or else has dropped out of our MS. There seems no reason to suspect the genuineness of the statement.

Another point to be noticed is this, that Bale speaks of seven books of the Life and one of the Miracles of St William. It is just possible that there may have been a supplementary eighth book of miracles, which we have lost: but that the seven books we have are all that Thomas contemplated writing is shown by his own words in the Prologue (p. 7). Bale does not give the opening words of the book of Miracles; and most likely it is a blunder, for the seven books are described as the *Life* of St William, whereas, of course, he dies in the fifth chapter of the first book, and the rest of the treatise is wellnigh all occupied with miracles.

It seems, then, that Capgrave, Leland, and Bale knew Thomas of Monmouth's book. But outside their testimony and later than their time, no trace of it is discoverable. Alike to Boston, Tanner and Blomefield it is unknown, and, moreover, none of the chroniclers who notice St William's death appear to have seen it[1]. Indeed, from the geographical distribution of our witnesses to it, it seems clear that the book had little or no circulation outside

[1] Bartholomew Cotton, who mentions the translation into the Chapter-house, is a possible exception; but he was a Norwich monk, and is almost certain to have seen Thomas's book.

East Anglia: for Capgrave (or John of Tinmouth[1]) and Bale are both East Anglians: Leland saw his MS at Norwich Priory: and our MS comes to light in a Suffolk Library.

I have not thought it worth while to reproduce or enumerate all the mentions of William's martyrdom which occur in mediæval chronicles. The earliest is in the Saxon Chronicle; and this places the event in 1137. I am quite unable to suggest a reason for this mistake; for a mistake it undoubtedly is.

[1] John of Tinmouth (or Timworth, as I believe) is the author of the *Sanctilogium*, from which Capgrave principally drew his materials. If he is really John of Timworth, he was abbot of Bury late in cent. xiv. I have examined the MS of his *Sanctilogium* in the Cottonian collection (Tiberius E. 1), which suffered sadly in the fire of 1731. Its text is not materially different from Capgrave's: there are considerable mutilations, which make it desirable to take Capgrave's text as our standard.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LEGEND.

On what scale is the enormous subject of the alleged murders of Christian children by Jews to be treated in this Introduction? It was possible for Adrian Kembter, a Praemonstratensian of Wilthin, writing in 1745, to enumerate 52 instances of these supposed crimes, and his last is dated in 1650[1]. A systematic investigation would bring to light perhaps double the number, and would end at a date later than the discovery of Thomas's book. For a research of this magnitude I have not the time, nor, what is more important, the knowledge. It is work which demands a specialist of no ordinary qualifications. Yet, impossible as it is for me to give a complete survey of the subject, it is equally impossible (even at the risk of some repetition of facts which Dr Jessopp also deals with) to pass over certain main questions connected with it. The story, which is now first appearing in its full form, is the foundation of all the subsequent ones of the kind: and our readers would justly blame us if we did not try to set before them to the best of our ability some means of answering the following questions:

1. What suggested the notion?
2. What is the truth of the story which Thomas tells?
3. How did the story develop in the period immediately following its publication?

It has long been held, and I think rightly, that the earliest occurrence of child-murder by Jews in literature is in a passage of the fifth century Church historian, Socrates. In dealing (vii. 16) with events about the year 415, he says:

Ὀλίγον δὲ μετὰ τόνδε τὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαῖοι πάλιν ἄτοπα κατὰ Χριστιανῶν πράξαντες δίκην δεδώκασιν. Ἐν Ἰνμεστάρ, οὕτω

[1] In his book *Acta pro Veritate martyrii corporis et cultus publici B. Andreae Rinnensis* (a child killed at Rinn in the Tyrol, 12 July 1462), Innsbruck 1745.

καλουμένῳ τόπῳ, ὃς κεῖται μεταξὺ Χαλκίδος καὶ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, Ἰουδαῖοι συνήθως ἑαυτοῖς παίγνια ἐπετέλουν τινά. Καὶ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ παίζειν ἄλογα ποιοῦντες, ὑπὸ μέθης ἐξαχθέντες, Χριστιανούς τε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τοῖς παιγνίοις διέσυρον· γελῶντές τε τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπηλπικότας ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐσταυρωμένῳ, καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπενόησαν. Παιδίον Χριστιανὸν συλλαβόμενοι σταυρῷ προσδήσαντες ἀπεκρέμασαν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καταγελῶντες καὶ χλευάζοντες διετέλουν· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν φρενῶν ἐκστάντες τὸ παιδίον ᾐκίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἀνελεῖν. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπὴ μὲν συμπληγὰς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ Χριστιανῶν ἐγίνετο· γνώριμον δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς κρατοῦσι καταστάν, ἐπεστάλη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἄρχουσιν, ἀναζητῆσαι τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι· καὶ οὕτως οἱ ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαῖοι δίκην ἔδοσαν, ὧν παίζοντες ἐκακούργησαν.

"Now a little after this the Jews paid the penalty for further lawless acts against the Christians. At Inmestar, a place so-called, which lies between Chalcis and Antioch in Syria, the Jews were in the habit of celebrating certain sports among themselves: and, whereas they habitually did many foolish actions in the course of their sports, they were put beyond themselves (on this occasion) by drunkenness, and began deriding Christians and even Christ himself in their games. They derided the Cross and those who hoped in the Crucified, and they hit upon this plan. They took a Christian child and bound him to a cross and hung him up; and to begin with they mocked and derided him for some time; but after a short space they lost control of themselves, and so ill-treated the child that they killed him. Hereupon ensued a bitter conflict between them and the Christians: this became known to the authorities: orders were sent to the provincial magistrates to seek out the guilty persons and punish them: and so the Jews of that place paid the penalty for the crime they had committed in sport."

It is clear from the words of Socrates that this outrage was no ritual murder. It began in rough horse-play and ended, seemingly owing to the drunkenness of the Jews, in actual violence, which had not been contemplated by the perpetrators. We have no clue as to the occasion of the "sports" referred to, which seem to have been an annual institution. Possibly they were connected with the Feast of Purim: and as it is known that parallels were drawn by the Jews between Haman the Hung and Jesus Christ, it

is conceivable that the child who came by his end at Inmestar was the representative of Haman and Christ, partly one and partly the other, at some quasi-dramatic entertainment[1]. This view of the event (which had occurred to me independently) is taken by Graetz[2].

It ought to be mentioned that there was a source from which Thomas of Monmouth or his contemporaries might have derived a knowledge of the story which Socrates tells. It is given in Latin in the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorius: and it may have been a formative element in the myth. Still, as we shall see, Thomas's notion of the practice was derived from another witness.

A story which, while differing in many essential particulars from the tales we are concerned with, yet deserves mention, is preserved to us by Evagrius (IV. 23), and repeated by Gregory of Tours[3]. It is that of the Jewish glass-maker of Constantinople who cast his son into the furnace for receiving the Eucharist. The boy was delivered by the Virgin. The date assigned to this occurrence is 536—552. It is merely as a tale of Jewish cruelty shewn upon a child for anti-Christian reasons that the story has anything in common with ours. But the history of it is instructive, because in mediæval collections of miracles of the Virgin the scene is transferred, and the Jew, instead of living at Constantinople, is a resident at Pisa or Bourges. This transplantation is, I think, significant.

The story of the child of Inmestar comes to us from the 5th century. Between that date and the date of William of Norwich there seems to be a complete blank. There are no child-martyrs, and there is no trace of a belief in ritual murder. After the Norwich story we encounter a rapid succession of child-martyrdoms, and the belief in ritual murder appears fully developed. It becomes therefore all-important to investigate the story which seems to have given new life, if not birth, to so appalling and destructive a myth. What is the evidence for the life and death of St William of Norwich?

This is the story as told by Thomas: but in telling it we shall do well to pass lightly over the parts which treat of William the

[1] Nicephorus (XIV. 16) gives the story from Socrates. His evidence has no separate value.

[2] *Geschichte d. Judenthum*, VI. 454.

[3] *De gloria martyrum*, 9. The story is told by Herbert de Losinga in his first sermon, and must therefore have been known at Norwich.

Saint as apart from William the murdered child: I mean the vision which presaged his greatness, the accounts of his early devoutness, and the miracle which happened on his weaning-feast. These, save perhaps the last, may well be afterthoughts.

William is the son (born in 1132 or 1133 on Feb. 2) of Wenstan and Elviva (or as Capgrave and Bale read it, Elwina). Of Wenstan we hear nothing save that he lived in the country and was a farmer, comfortably off. At the time of the martyrdom he was dead. Of his wife we know something more. She was the daughter of a married priest, Wlward, who was a well-known man in the neighbourhood and had the reputation of being wise in the interpretation of dreams. She also had a sister named Liviva (or Livina) who was married to Godwin Sturt, a priest whose son Alexander was in deacon's orders, and, Bale tells us, was destined to succeed his father in the living (what living we know not, but it was clearly in Norwich) which he held.

Besides William, Wenstan and Elviva had other children. The name of one only is given, Robert, who afterwards became a monk in Norwich Priory.

It is at first sight a striking fact that we are not told where William's parents lived: but we see from Book I. Ch. 2, that William was baptized by the parish priest of Haveringland: and it is natural to suppose that in Haveringland the family lived. For the story of the penitent whose iron bands William broke in his infancy, it may be very likely true and yet no miracle. The priest of Haveringland had the broken arm-ring in his church, and told Thomas about it afterwards. William's early sanctity may or may not be founded on fact: but the next point we reach is his apprenticeship to a skinner in Norwich. This took place when he was eight years old (1140–41) and lasted until he was twelve. He lived with a man of the name of Wulward, not his grandfather, but possibly a relation: and we are told that his master and he had frequent dealings with the Jews. His constant visits to them attracted the attention of his friends; and Wulward, and also the boy's uncle Godwin, forbade him to have anything more to do with them.

On the Monday after Palm Sunday in 1144 William calls on his mother in company with a man who describes himself as the cook of William, archdeacon of Norwich, and offers the boy a place in the archidiaconal kitchen, on condition that he should have his services at once. Some unwillingness on the part of the

mother is overcome by a small payment, and the boy returns to Norwich in company with the man.

This messenger—said by Thomas to be the emissary of the Jews—is a very mysterious figure. He was unknown to the mother, and Thomas is ignorant whether he was a Christian or a Jew. The interview, as he reports it, is coloured by attempts to draw a parallel to the Betrayal of Christ. The traitor is made to mention 30 pieces of silver, and eventually produces the tithe of that sum—three pieces—as the price of blood. Still, there is nothing impossible in the narrative so far.

The supposed traitor calls next day with William upon Liviva the aunt in Norwich, and tells her of the arrangement he has made for the boy. This seems an unnecessary proceeding for a man who would naturally be anxious to avoid attracting notice. However, they leave the house, and the aunt tells her daughter to follow them and see where they go. She watches them into a Jew's house, and sees the door shut, and William is never seen alive again. The girl returns home and tells her mother what she has seen. This is on the Tuesday before Easter.

For the events of the next day (Wednesday, the Passover Day), we are dependent largely upon Thomas's unsupported testimony. The evidence on which he relies covers but a very small portion of his story. We will take his own account first.

William spends the Tuesday night with the Jews, and is kindly treated and well fed. On the Wednesday, after their service in the synagogue, they seize him as he is at table, insert a gag in his mouth and tie it elaborately with cords round his head and neck, shave his head and lacerate it with thorns. Then, after a mock trial, he is adjudged to the cross: they take him to a part of the room where there were three uprights of wood and a horizontal bar connecting them, and to these they bind his right hand and foot with ropes, attaching the left hand and foot with nails. They then pierce his left side as deep as his heart, and finally pour scalding water over the body to cleanse the wounds and stop the flow of blood.

By way of external testimony to this detailed account the following facts are adduced by Thomas. First, the daughter of Liviva saw him enter the Jew's house. Next, there was a Christian woman who waited on the Jews, and who told Thomas this tale. On the day in question she was ordered to heat some water in the kitchen, the Jews being in the inner room, where

she heard them making some considerable noise. After a time they called to her to bring in the water, and they opened the door to take it in. She, through the chink of the door, caught sight—with one eye only—of a boy fastened to a post; and in another instant the door was shut. In the evening she had to clean up the room, and found lying in a corner a boy's belt, and attached to it a knife in a sheath and (seemingly) a case of needles. Besides this, we are told, she perceived in the room "the certain signs of what had been done." In after years she shewed the belt and its accompaniments to Thomas, and pointed out the marks of the martyrdom on the timbers of the house. These, then, Thomas himself saw, and we gather that there were two nail-holes in one of them. Lastly, when the body was washed in the Cathedral on the 24th of April (more than a month after the death) the monks are said to have found thorn points in the skin of the head, "traces of the martyrdom" in the hands, feet, and side, and "indications" that boiling water had been poured over the body. What these indications were—unless, perhaps, a bloated state of the skin, not surprising in a corpse a month old—it is difficult to say. The actual evidence of the martyrdom in the Jew's house reduces itself to the momentary glimpse which the maid-servant caught with one eye of a boy tied to a post, and to the existence of a couple of nail-holes in a post seen some years afterwards.

And even this evidence, be it noted, was not produced until the view that the Jews had done the deed had been for some time in circulation. The servant does not come forward when Liviva and the mob are ranging about the streets and threatening an outbreak. It is seemingly not until Thomas has conceived the project of writing the life of St William that any attempt is made to ascertain the precise place and manner of the murder. True it is that Godwin in his speech to the Synod refers to the well-known practice of the Jews in Passover week: but Thomas in one case gives us speeches which are avowedly imaginary, and Godwin's words are highly Thomian in style. At present, the evidence for a ritual murder is simply *nil*.

We return to Thomas's narrative. The Maundy Thursday was spent by the Jews in deliberation as to what they should do with the body. Thomas's knowledge of this was derived from "one of them," meaning, I have no doubt, Theobald of Cambridge—of whom more anon. And here there is a trifle more plausibility

about the story. For if the Jews had contemplated murder from the first they would surely have made their preparations for disposing of the body: but supposing some rough pranks, such as those at Inmestar, had accidentally ended in the death of the boy whom they had only meant to make a butt of, it is intelligible that a council of the kind described should have been held. Theobald is not a first-rate witness, I will allow; but the hypothesis of an accidental death deserves to be considered.

The verdict of the assembly, led by Eleazar, was that the body should be taken to some remote place and left there. So on Good Friday, Eleazar and another put it into a sack and set out for Thorpe Wood. On the edge of the wood Aelward Ded met them, and asked whither they were bound. Happening to lay his hand on the sack, he perceived by its shape that it contained a human body. The Jews saw that they were discovered, galloped off into the wood, hung the body to a tree, and returned to Norwich to take counsel in this new crisis. They repaired to John the Sheriff and bribed him to keep their secret and force Aelward Ded to keep it too. The Sheriff sent for him and extracted an oath of secrecy from him. It was not broken till five years after, when, on his death-bed, he told Wicheman and another what he had seen. From them Thomas heard the story. Perhaps the weakest point of it is this, that Aelward does not break silence until 1149, though the formidable John de Caineto had died in 1146.

On the Good Friday evening a light was seen in the sky pointing to a spot in Thorpe Wood. It was seen by Henry de Sprowston from his house-door, and by Legarda from the hospital by St Mary Magdalene. On the following morning (Easter Eve) Legarda set out to see what it meant. What she found was this. The body of a boy lying under an oak tree (not hanging up—but this is not a real difficulty), fully clothed, with shaven head, and marks of thorns on the scalp. Besides this there were two crows which were unsuccessfully attempting to eat the body, and kept falling down. Legarda did not take any action herself, but returned home.

On the same morning Henry de Sprowston went on his rounds in the forest. He met a woodcutter who said he had found a murdered boy near by. The two men went to the spot. Henry looked with some care at the body and noticed that it was wounded, and had a wooden gag in the mouth. He inferred from the unusual character of the wounds that the murderer could not be a Christian, but must be a Jew. This, if it is not an afterthought,

may mean that Henry said that only a 'miscreant' and no Christian man could have treated a boy in such a way. He further noted that it was to this spot that the light he had seen had pointed; and then he went home and told his family. They sent for the priest of Sprowston, and suggested that the body might be buried in Sprowston churchyard. However, as it was Easter Eve, they decided to do nothing until Easter Monday: which does not indicate any great amount of excitement at their discovery.

However, the rumour of the discovery had got to Norwich; and a number of the boys and young men of the place went to Thorpe Wood. Some of these visitors suspected the Jews—again because of the nature of the wounds inflicted; others definitely said that the Jews were the murderers. Easter Eve and Easter Day were spent in this rush to see the body; and there was a distinct wish to invade the Jewry, only the mob were afraid of John de Caineto.

On Easter Monday, Henry de Sprowston and his family, unaccompanied by any priest, set out to bury the body; and on second thoughts decided not to remove it, but to bury it where it lay. And when they took it up, they smelt for the first time the "odour of sanctity" which it diffused. So it was buried without any ceremony.

Meanwhile some of William's boy-friends had said that the body in Thorpe Wood was that of William, who used to visit the Jews so often. His uncle Godwin Sturt heard this, and set out for the grave with his son Alexander, and Robert, William's (elder?) brother. They opened the grave, and when they got near the body, the earth was twice seen to move and stir, suggesting to them, as it does to us, that all this time the unfortunate boy was not really dead at all. When the body was uncovered, the brother, cousin and uncle recognised it as William's, and, after due expression of their sorrow, recited the proper offices, and covered in the grave again. They noticed the absence of corruption and the odour of sanctity: and probably it was at this time that Godwin removed from the mouth of the corpse the gag which later on we find in his possession. It does not, however, seem to have occurred to any of them that it would be desirable to transfer the body to consecrated ground. They went back to Norwich, and Godwin told the matter to his wife. She was at once greatly agitated, and declared that on the Saturday week before she had had a warning dream about the Jews. Soon the boy's mother

Elviva arrived on the scene and, though she could learn nothing certain about the matter, she too flew to the conclusion that the Jews were the culprits, and by rushing about the town and declaring her convictions on the subject she greatly excited the populace.

We have now come, perhaps, to the Wednesday after Easter: and after this until the day of the Synod there is an interval, during which Godwin settled his plan of action. The Synod met; the discourse was preached; and then Godwin rising in his place—in the apse of the Cathedral—publicly proclaimed that his nephew had been murdered, that he accused the Jews of the deed, and that he demanded justice. On the same day the secular dean summoned the Jews to appear on the morrow before the Synod. They went to the Sheriff, who told the Bishop he had no jurisdiction over the Jews. A second and third summons were sent, but no answer was received. After the Synod was over a message was sent to the Sheriff, threatening a peremptory sentence against the Jews; which, I suppose, meant a license to the mob to devastate the Jewry.

John and the Jews—the former individual being extremely angry—now appeared, and Godwin in their presence reiterated his accusation, and pointed it this time with his appeal to the ordeal. The Jews pleaded not guilty and demanded a respite. This was twice refused, and that night all the inhabitants of the Jewry moved within the Castle bounds, under the immediate protection of the Sheriff.

Among other persons present at Norwich happened to be Aimar, the Prior of the Cluniacs of St Pancras at Lewes, who, as Dr Jessopp acutely conjectures, had come thither on business connected with the establishment of the Cluniacs at Castle-Acre. Aimar interviewed Godwin on the matter of the murder and saw possibilities in it; for he at once begged the Bishop to let him have William's body for Lewes Priory. The Bishop, who, though not so enthusiastic for St William as was his successor in the see, still was impressed by what had happened, declined the request: and in after years the report was current that Aimar had applauded his prudence, and that the result of the transaction was to stimulate Eborard to translate William's body from Thorpe Wood to the Monks' Cemetery, whence, if further developments should take place, there might be an easy step to a position of greater dignity. Accordingly, on the 24th of April, the trans-

ference was effected: and it was on this occasion, 32 days after the death of the boy, that those unequivocal signs of the manner of his martyrdom were discovered which have been already noticed. In addition to these, it was stated that blood flowed from the nose of the corpse, and that the odour of sanctity was perceived for the third time.

The narrative of events need not just now be pursued any further: but we must take stock at this point of the confirmatory evidence which Thomas adduces. He urges seven arguments in his second book. The first is that William was seen "by many people" to enter the Jew's house on the Tuesday before Easter, and in particular by his cousin, Liviva's daughter; and that no one saw him come out. The second argument is drawn from the evidence of the Jews' servant. This I have set forth, and no one can describe it as convincing. The third is that some days after the martyrdom, *when the Jews were being charged with the murder*, they sought to bribe William's brother Robert with the sum of ten marks to hush up the charge. This Thomas heard from Robert, and it may be true. But it may only mean that the Jews were afraid of the disturbance likely to be excited by the trial, and not that they acknowledged themselves guilty. The fourth argument is of exactly the same kind: namely, that the Jews tried to bribe Bishop Turbe, on the occasion of the trial of Sir Simon de Novers before Stephen, to drop the counter-charge against themselves. It was not a prudent step to take, if they took it, but it does not nearly amount to a confession of guilt. The fifth is the most sensational of all. Theobald, a Jew of Cambridge, was converted to Christianity and became a monk (as it seems) in Norwich Priory[1]. He told Thomas that the Jews had a written tradition that in order to regain their freedom and their fatherland they must sacrifice a Christian every year. In order to select their victim the leading Jews of Spain assembled annually at Narbonne, where they were exceedingly influential, and cast lots for all the countries of the world where any Jews lived. The country which was selected by lot had in turn to cast lots for all its cities, and the city thus selected had to furnish the victim. Theobald asserted that it was within his knowledge that in 1144 the lot had fallen on Norwich.

If this is a lie—and we are assured that it is by those who

[1] The word *nostro*, which would be decisive as to the house in which Theobald was a monk, is mutilated in the MS.: but the reading is not really very doubtful.

have studied the subject—it is one of the most notable and disastrous lies of history; and we must look upon Theobald of Cambridge, as responsible for the blood of thousands of his fellow-countrymen.

The sixth argument sets forth that the Jews (when their security was re-established) used to remind the Christians jocosely of the service they had done them in adding a new saint to their kalendar. But this was merely a joke, and all that it shews is that the murder was attributed to the Jews, and that they felt they could afford to treat it humorously.

The seventh argument rests on the evidence of a law officer, William of Hastings, Dean of Norwich. He said that at a suit in his court between two Jews one had accused the other of having been concerned as a ringleader in the murder of William. What the accused Jew said we are not told; but there is no hint that the truth of the charge was inquired into.

In which of all this mass of assertions may we reasonably put confidence? The points that seem to my own mind worthy of credence are these: The existence, name, birth, and parentage of William: his connexion with the skinners' craft: his violent death: the discovery of the body in Thorpe Wood: its burial: the events connected with the Synod: the removal of the body to the monks' cemetery. This much I see no reason to doubt: only, we shall see, there is a confusion in a subsequent part of Thomas's book as to the order of events about the time of the Synod. More doubtful, but not, I think, necessarily to be rejected, are the visits of William to the Jews and the prohibition to continue them: the apprenticeship to the Archdeacon's cook: the entry into the Jewry on the Tuesday before Easter: the experience of Aelward Ded. This last is a crucial point no doubt. It carries with it our acquiescence in the statement that William did, somehow or other, meet his death in the Norwich Jewry: and to me this is not inconceivable. I should think nothing of the evidence, were it not for the fact that we are dealing with the first of all the mediæval accusations of child-murder. But that is a very important point. The way in which those on the spot received the notion is instructive. It did not command an unquestioning reception. There were many doubters, against whom Thomas finds it necessary to fulminate; and their disbelief was owing in great part, no doubt, to the lack of good evidence; but also, we must allow, to the fact that the idea was a new one. No one can

accept Theobald's account of the murder as a thing done every year by the most cultured and enlightened Jews of Europe: but as the result of accident, or as the deed of an insane or superstitious Jew, it is not incredible.

The sequence of the miracles which are recorded to have followed upon the burial in the Monks' Cemetery is worth looking at for a moment. The first is the deliverance of Botilda the cook's wife by the fern that grew on the grave: the next is the blossoming of the rose-tree on the grave. Then follows the vision of Lewin of Welney (or whatever place is meant by "Welle"): and herein is a matter which gives us some pause. The vision is dated before Easter of 1144, that is, within a day or two of the martyrdom. In it the sick man is bidden to go to St William's tomb. The father accordingly sets off for Norwich and makes inquiries: but no one can tell him who St William is. However, it is said, the Jews were disturbed at the fact of his making inquiries, and "iterum, ut altera uice," "for the second time, as on another occasion," betook themselves and their belongings within the Castle precinct. After some days the priest of Welney goes to Norwich to attend the Synod, and hears Godwin's accusation of the Jews. This by no means agrees with Thomas's former categorical account. In that, as we have seen, the speech of Godwin, made at the Synod, leads to the summoning of the Jews, and this again to their retreat within the ramparts of the Castle. This is intrinsically much more probable; and we are forced to suppose that Thomas has considerably ante-dated the episode of Lewin. It might be an entire fiction: but that is not necessarily the case. After the martyrdom and Synod and the consequent excitement were over, it is quite possible that a sick man might have had a dream about St William; and that inquiries made at Norwich might necessitate a second retreat of the Jews. One thing, however, is clear; Thomas has made a bad blunder in one of his two accounts.

Next we have the vision of the Mulbarton girl, which Thomas classes with Lewin's vision because of its similarity, not because it followed next in order of time. This is followed by the wonderful experience of the girl of Dunwich and her fairy lover. Wicheman, the bishop's deputy for hearing confessions, is the witness for this; and he was the man who received the dying confession of Aelward Ded in 1149. No date is given for the Dunwich miracle; but Thomas says that at the time of its occurrence the memory of

St William had become almost extinct. This may mean that Wicheman heard the tale in 1145–7.

The murder of Eleazar the Jew is not dated either: but it must have been near about the time when Bishop Eborard retired and Bishop Turbe succeeded him. This happened in 1146; and "some time" after the murder Stephen came to Norwich and the trial of Sir Simon de Novers was held. It is to be remembered that John de Caineto cannot have been present at the trial. He died in 1146, shortly after the consecration of William Turbe, whose election he had done his best to prevent.

With the death of John the Sheriff the second book of Thomas's work ends, and the third opens with the translation of William to the chapter-house in the spring of 1150. It is at this point that Thomas comes before us *in propria persona* as a witness; and as he does not attempt to hint that he was present at any of the previous events, it is likely that he had not long been an inmate of the Priory. The shortest interval which we can reasonably suppose to have separated him from the death of William is four years; the longest, six years. His sources of evidence were the boy's mother Elviva, whom he certainly knew, the uncle Godwin Sturt, Liviva the aunt and her daughter, Robert the martyr's brother, Theobald de Cambridge, Wicheman the confessor, the Jew's servant, and also, as it seems, Legarda and Henry de Sprowston. This is a strong body of witnesses, and, discount their stories as we may, we cannot well dispute at least the existence of the boy William, his violent death, and the discovery of his body in Thorpe Wood.

Leaving to the last our consideration of the general question, let us look very briefly at the alleged child-murders which followed most closely upon that of William of Norwich.

The first is earlier than the publication of Thomas's book. On March 18th, 1168, the body of a boy named Harold was found in the Severn at Gloucester, much mutilated, with traces of burning on the flesh and the garments, thorns in the head and armpits, marks of melted wax in the eyes and ears, and some of the teeth knocked out. The murder was supposed to have taken place on Friday, March 17th. The convent went out in procession to receive the body, and it was inspected and washed by the monks, and buried before the altar of SS. Edmund and Edward, on the northern side. The boy was reported to have been stolen by the Jews about Feb. 21 and hidden until the day of the murder;

and Jews from all parts of England were summoned on pretext that a boy was to be circumcised and a great feast held "according to the Law" (ex lege). No Christian was present, and no Jew confessed to the deed, which was matter of conjecture. The source of this extremely shaky story is the *Historia Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, p. 21 (*Rolls Series*). It is to be observed that nothing is said concerning the customary or ritual nature of such murders, but the season is near the Passover. Other chroniclers who speak of the boy Harold are Chron. Petroburgense under 1161, Brompton under 1160, and Knighton.

In 1171 there was an accusation of child-murder against the Jews of Orleans, and another against those of Blois, this last in the Paschal season, as reported by Robert of Torigny. In 1179 we have the martyrdom of St Richard of Pontoise by the Jews of Paris or of Pontoise, whose passion, by Robert Gaguin (1498), is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March 25. It speaks of the slaying of a Christian as a yearly custom, and makes Richard—of whose identity and parentage nothing is said—to be examined in a cave by a priest of the Jews and asked to deny his faith. He is crucified and quotes Scripture when on the cross. The result of the martyrdom is a grand persecution by Philip Augustus. The late date of the Passion deprives it of all importance for this investigation. Two years afterwards, in 1181, the boy Robert is killed at Bury. The earliest authority for this is Jocelin de Brakelond[1]. He says, "at the same time the holy boy Robert was martyred, and buried in our church, and many signs and wonders were done among the people, as I have elsewhere written." There is little prospect, I fear, of Jocelin's tract on Robert being recovered now; it would be an exceedingly interesting document. John de Taxster in his chronicle says the boy Robert was martyred at St Edmund's by the Jews on Wednesday the 10th of June. William of Worcester says that his feast was celebrated in May, and that the boy was crucified. The Chronicle of Melrose also mentions the fact (p. 91, ed. Bannatyne Club):

(1181) Miracula multa et magna apud S. Aedmundum per beatum puerum Robertum quem quidam Iudaeus occulte crudeliter neci tradidit.

It then goes on to mention the death of a boy Herbert at Huntingdon, thus:

[1] Ed. *Camden Society*, p. 13.

Similiter apud Huntodinam de alio puero Herberto nomine noua contigerunt, quem proprius pater ad stipitem impie ligauit et in aqua que iuxta ipsam uillam decurrit miserabiliter extinxit.

In these words there is nothing to shew that the Jews were in any way concerned: and as there seems to be no other authority for Herbert of Huntingdon, he may as well drop out of the list.

In 1192 there was a martyrdom at Winchester, reported by Richard of Devizes (pp. 59—64). The victim was a French boy brought up by a Jew to the trade of a cobbler in France, and sent with a commendatory letter, written in Hebrew, to the Jews at Winchester. He disappeared after some months, and the charge of crucifixion, brought by a boy-friend of his, and confirmed by a Christian woman who served the Jews, was dismissed. The body was never produced.

Further than this we need not carry the tale. But it is important to notice the geographical distribution of the places where the accusations spring up. The first is Gloucester, a place apparently quite out of connexion with Norwich. It must be remembered, however, that we have in Thomas's book a letter from a Pershore monk somewhere near 1170, which shews that the reputation of St William was notorious at Pershore. Why was this? Dr Jessopp has pointed out to me that the Abbot of Pershore at this date was William, a monk of Eye in Suffolk (appointed in 1138)[1]. I think this will amply account for the appearance of a child-martyr at Gloucester, the near neighbour of Pershore.

The next two stories are from Orleans and Blois; we have not, however, anything like contemporary evidence for them. But even supposing the stories to have arisen before Thomas's book was known in France, it is always possible that either Bishop Eborard (who died in France, at the Abbey of Fontenay), or some one in his train, spread the story of St William in France, and sowed the seed in receptive soil. St Richard of Pontoise, who is first mentioned by Robert of Torigny, I absolutely dismiss; and the next witness, at Bury, comes from the near neighbourhood of Norwich, and brings us to a date when we may expect to find William's reputation at its zenith. There is, then, in each of these cases something to suggest a connexion with Norwich; in no one of them is any evidence produced which lends them any veri-

[1] See John de Taxster in *Florence of Worcester* (ed. Thorpe).

similitude; and there is a story already current which invites and suggests imitation.

Widely different is the story of William of Norwich, appearing as it does after a blank of seven centuries in the records of child-murder by the Jews (having indeed but one predecessor in those records), and backed by a good deal of circumstantial evidence. It arises too at a time when, and in a place where the Jews were a flourishing and well-protected body. It comes apparently as a novelty to the minds of the people at large; and the extreme frequency of the mention of it in contemporary chronicles shews that it made a considerable impression. It is undoubtedly the strongest case of the kind.

Yet, as we have seen, much of the evidence must be heavily discounted; and we have to remember that Thomas, our one authority, is a very credulous partisan. We must in the last resort formulate the various theories of William's death which seem most probable, and shortly state the reasons for and against each. We may suppose

(1) That William's murder was a genuine case of ritual-murder, on the part of the Jews as a body.

For this we have really only the evidence of Theobald; and, on the other side, ritual-murder as a practice has been learnedly and thoroughly disproved by Strack[1] and others.

Again, it is unlikely that the educated Jews of Norwich *in their corporate capacity* would perpetrate this crime as an act of anti-Christian spite. They would be running a quite unnecessary risk, and there is nothing to shew that the practice was a recognised one at any period of their history.

(2) That William was killed by a Christian, and the murder laid at the Jews' door with the definite intention of rousing the people against them. That such things were done in later times, there is unfortunately no room to doubt. But in this case it is improbable. Had there been an elaborate intrigue connected with it, there must have been preliminary agitation, and much preparation of the soil for the seed, as well as anti-Judaic speeches by leading men after the murder. But there is nothing of this; no organized attack, and no fanning of the flame against the Jews. After the Synod and the translation the whole affair lapses, the Jews regain security and confidence, and William takes his place as a wonder-worker, and an attraction for pilgrims, not as a monument of Jewish malignity.

[1] *Der Blutaberglaube*, H. L. Strack, Munich, 1891.

(3) That William was killed by a person unknown, and the rest of the story invented. This is the view that most readers of the present day will be inclined to take. It differs from the last mainly in looking upon the affair as a natural growth and not the culmination of an elaborate plot. There is much in favour of this notion, and I have little doubt that the truth of the matter lies between it and the next supposition, namely,

(4) That William was killed accidentally or intentionally by a Jew, and the rest of the story invented. If this theory be accepted, the events we must suppose to have run somewhat after this fashion: either the outrage of Inmestar was repeated, or the boy was the victim of a pure accident, in the Norwich Jewry, at the hands of some one of the baser sort of Jews. The more prominent members of the community, recognizing the certainly fatal consequences which would ensue either if they gave up the body, or if they concealed it and it were discovered, determined to stand by their co-religionists. The story of Aelward Ded would then be substantially true, and also the statement that the sheriff was bribed.

It is, of course, much simpler to adopt the hypothesis that the whole story was a fabrication, suggested by the discovery of the boy's body: and it is clear that there was a good deal of imposture connected with the business. It is true, again, that accusations of child-murder, of cannibalism and of other horrid practices, are among the first that any set of uneducated people is likely to bring against a tribe or sect whose practices they do not understand[1]. Charges of this kind we know were made against Christians by Pagan Greeks and Romans, against heretical sects by orthodox Christians, against the Templars by their contemporaries, against Christian

[1] See a paper by the late Isidor Loeb in the *Revue des Études Juives* 1889, p. 184: "Le problème n'est pas un problème d'histoire, mais de psychologie. Le préjugé vient d'un des instincts les plus profonds des peuples qui l'ont inventé;" and also a review of Strack's *Blutaberglaube*, by S. Reinach, in the same periodical (1892, p. 161). The latter writer quotes some words spoken to him by Renan on this subject: "Notez combien la malignité humaine est peu inventive: elle tourne éternellement dans le même cercle d'accusations, sacrifices humains, anthropophagie, attentats aux mœurs." I add a few lines from this same article, which put the case well: "En résumé, il est possible, il est même certain, que plus d'une fois, depuis quinze siècles, un Chrétien a été tué par un Juif; mais il n'est pas moins certain que jamais, à aucune époque, dans aucun pays, un Chrétien, jeune ou vieux, n'a été immolé par un Juif pour servir à l'accomplissement de rites secrets. Cela est certain...parce que l'idée même *d'un meurtre rituel Juif* est un tissu de contradictions absurdes en trois mots."

missionaries (in 1870 and in 1895) by Chinese. Still we have on the other hand to take into account the possibilities of what a mad hatred of a dominant system, or a reversion to half-forgotten practices of a darker age, might effect in the case of an ignorant Jew seven centuries back. We see from Theobald's disastrous evidence what such a man could imagine. Can we be sure that there were not at Norwich Jews as bad as he, who could give effect to such a fancy? Is it beyond the bounds of possibility that he did the deed himself[1]?

[1] It is true that Theobald says he was at Cambridge in 1144: but it is difficult not to believe that he was the person responsible for the account of William's death, and of the subsequent deliberations of the Jews, which Thomas heard "from one of themselves."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY OF ST WILLIAM.

THE body of St William was four times translated between 1144 and 1172: first from Thorpe Wood to the Monks' Cemetery; next, from the cemetery to the Chapter House; thirdly, from the Chapter House to a place on the south side of the High Altar; lastly, from thence to a Chapel (cancellus) on the north side of the High Altar, formerly designated the Chapel of the Martyrs. Here the body lay when Thomas of Monmouth's book was published; but we know that this was not its final resting-place. At the Dissolution an altar to St William's honour occupied a prominent place on the north side of the rood-screen. We have no record of a translation of the body to that spot, and it is not inconceivable that it may have remained in the Martyrs' Chapel: but the Chapel of St William, properly so called, was in the sixteenth century under the rood-loft.

We are, then, concerned especially with two sites in the Cathedral, namely, the Martyrs' Chapel, and the Chapel of St William. The second is clearly known: what of the first?

The words of Thomas which define its position are not so precise as we could have wished them to be. He says (vi. 1. p. 221), "Erat siquidem in ecclesia Norwicensi parte boreali sub latere magni altaris, cancellus sanctorum olim martirum uenerationi designatus. Hic itaque locus pre ceteris sancto martiri congruus deligitur, quia amplus, quia in diuersorio quieto positus, quia et martyrum nomini consecrandus." On the day appointed Bishop William consecrated an altar to the Martyrs "sub memorato cancello": the body of William was laid there, and there, when Thomas wrote, it remained. The site then was a "chancel" or "chapel." We need not restrict the meaning of *cancellus* to a

grating or railed space: a reference to Du Cange *sub voce* will shew that it was used to denote the choir of a church or a church *per se.* It was on the north of the High Altar. The use of the preposition *sub* may possibly suggest to the reader that the chapel was on a lower level. There is, however, no trace of any crypt, whether large (*amplus*), or small. The preposition merely implies proximity, and is used loosely, just as it is used a few lines lower down, when the altar is said to have been consecrated "sub memorato cancello"—words which I have simply rendered by "*in* the aforesaid chapel." If Thomas had wished to describe a crypt (and one of some considerable dimensions) he would surely have employed more explicit language. Moreover, in the accounts of the miracles which happened after this translation, there is constant mention of their being witnessed by a large number of spectators. Everything points to the scene being laid in an accessible part of the church, and not in any small underground structure.

The next point is that the chapel was "in diuersorio quieto positus." I have rendered this, somewhat too freely, as "situated in a quiet place outside the procession-path." But my rendering, if free, conveys the only sense I am able to put upon the words. A *diuersorium* must be a place into which one turns aside out of a thoroughfare. It is hardly applicable to a place under the floor of the thoroughfare, such as a crypt. It would best apply to a side chapel opening on an aisle or ambulatory.

Lastly we gather that the chapel in question was designated, but not as yet formally appropriated, to the worship of "the Martyrs." This is an early form of dedication. The near neighbour of Norwich, Bury St Edmund's, had in the twelfth century an altar or chapel of the Martyrs, which seems to have been identical with the old Lady Chapel in the eastern apse. To my thinking, these chapels of the Martyrs were in early times dedicated to *the noble army of martyrs*; and subsequently became as it were specialised to the invocation of those particular martyrs whose relics were kept there. I am not, however, able to corroborate this hypothesis by any number of examples. The parallel from Bury St Edmund's is clearly to the point here, inasmuch as both there and at Norwich the later documents cease to mention the Martyrs' Chapel. At Bury we have mention in later times of an altar of SS. Botolph, Thomas, and Jurmin, which I suspect was identical with the Martyrs' altar. At Norwich, in like manner, the Martyrs' altar disappears from view,

in fact, I believe that the mention of it in Thomas's book is the only one discoverable.

Now our examination of the description of St William's resting-place has led us to look for a side chapel of Norman date on the north side of the High Altar. Such a chapel exists at the present moment: but it is now known as the Jesus Chapel. Is this dedication likely to be an older one than that to the Martyrs?

I would answer, certainly not. In early times, when churches were dedicated to our Lord, it was under the name of Christ or of the Saviour that they were so dedicated, and not under the name of Jesus. Jesus Altars and Jesus Chapels do of course very commonly occur in mediæval times, but only in later times. The festival of the Name of Jesus which is in the Sarum Breviary (Aug. 7) is of extremely late institution and of quite obscure origin. I believe that the order for its general observance was not promulgated from Rome before 1721. It is not now possible to ascertain when the Norwich Chapel was formally placed under this invocation: but it is well-nigh certain that it cannot have been originally dedicated as a Jesus Chapel: and analogies would lead us to guess that it must have become a Jesus chapel in the second half of the fourteenth century at earliest.

To be short, Dr Jessopp and I agree in fixing upon the Jesus Chapel as being identical with the Martyrs' Chapel and therefore with the centre of the cult of St William. In situation it satisfies Thomas's description: its present dedication is a late one: and there is on the other side no prior claim and no objection that I can gather to be urged against it.

We have been furnished by the kindness of Dr Bensly, Registrar of the Diocese of Norwich, with some extracts from the rolls of the obedientiaries, which throw some little light upon the progress of the cult of St William, and incidentally confirm the hypothesis just put forward with regard to the Jesus Chapel. To these must be joined the extracts which Dean Goulburn has given in his *Sculptures of Norwich Cathedral* (p. 110). They run as follows:

Receipts.

1277	De magno altari et stipitibus et altari beati Willelmi	£21.	3*s*.	4*d*.
1312	Item de S. Willelmo		11*s*.	10½*d*.
1314	de S. Willelmo	£1	1*s*.	5½*d*.
1320	„ „		12*s*.	1*d*.

1323	de S. Willelmo et noua cruce . . .	1*s.*	8*d.*
1325	de SS. Stephano, Willelmo, et Ypolito .	18*s.*	5*d.*
1329	" " " . .	16*s.*	5½*d.*
1330	de SS. Ypolito, Stephano, Willelmo, et Anna	17*s.*	8*d.*
1331	de SS. Steph., Will., Ypol., et Anna . .	15*s.*	2¾*d.*
1334	de SS. Ypol., Will., Steph., et Anna . .	14*s.*	½*d.*
1335	de SS. Ypol., Steph., Will., et Anna . .	15*s.*	11*d.*
1341	de S. Willelmo		6¾*d.*
1343	" "		4*d.*

Two points here deserve attention. First, the company in which St William's name is mentioned. It is coupled with the High Altar and subsequently with those of Stephen, Hippolytus, and Anne. St Anne's, or the Berney's Chapel was N.W. of the High Altar. St Stephen's is conjectured by Blomefield to have been one of the chapels (now destroyed) on the north side, just W. of the Jesus Chapel. St Hippolytus is as yet unplaced. But what has been said leads us to think that St William lay in a position near the High Altar, and on the north side at least down to 1335. It seems also possible that Stephen, Hippolytus and William may all have been honoured at the Martyrs' Altar and in the Martyrs' Chapel: at least there is no evidence to prove that St Stephen's Chapel was where Blomefield places it; and a Martyrs' Altar would be a fit place to honour the Protomartyr.

Next, it is interesting to see how the offerings to St William declined in amount. In the early years of the fourteenth century they stood at a figure which could be called respectable; by 1343 they have dropped to a few pence.

We must proceed to the account of the moneys expended on the shrine.

1305 Feretrum Willelmi.
In c. et xl. foliis auri emptis ad feretrum S. Willelmi. 6*s.* 8*d.*
Item in c. et dimid. argent. 11*d.*
Item in xii libris albi plumbi, vermicl., et orpyment. 11*s.* 9*d.*
In oleo ad depingend. 10*d.*
Item in stipendio et victual. Sym. pictor. et garcionis sui per ix septim. 25*s.* 6*d.*

1323 Item in dedicatione altaris S. Willelmi. £1. 3*d.*

1329 Item in oblationibus prioris et duorum capellanorum eius nichil in hoc anno, sed in recompensationem eius et capellanorum suorum dedit ei sacrista tres florenos pretii xx s. quos uxor domini W. de Norwyco optulit ad altare S. Willelmi.

1330 In stanno cum factura sacrarii S. Willelmi. 8*s.* 9*d.*
1428 From Wm. Berneham for paving near St William. 29*s.* 6*d.*
Two masons for paving near St William. 5*s.* 1½*d.*
1429 From executors of Sir T. Erpingham for the paving near St William. 40*s.*
1440 Pro emend. graduum versus altare S. Willelmi.
1442 Reparanti opus circa tumbam S. Willelmi. 3*s.* Also a mention of the altar of St William.

It seems from these extracts that in 1305 there was a regular refurbishing of the shrine of St William: not a reconstruction. The *feretrum* was gilded and painted, and after this there is mention of the altar of St William, and of the paving near his shrine. I am inclined to suspect that the latest mention of the altar must belong to the time when the Martyrs' Chapel had become the Jesus Chapel and when St William, or at least his altar, was situated under the choir screen.

In 1445 Bishop Browne died, and was buried, in accordance with the provisions of his will, in the upper part of the Nave of the Church, at the altar of St William, and before the great rood-loft which he had new made (Blomefield, III. p. 534). Whatever it may have been that Browne did to the rood-loft, the stone *screen,* which still exists *in situ,* was erected by Bishop Walter Lyhart, who died in 1472, was buried beside Bishop Browne, and endowed a chaplain for St William's altar. Under Lyhart's screen there may still be seen the remains of two chapels; that on the north was, as I have said, St William's: the other was that of our Lady of Pity. Blomefield further tells us that the altar named in Browne's will was formerly St Saviour's altar (perhaps the town altar) otherwise called Holyrood altar (from its proximity to the rood), and was re-dedicated to St William. He gives no date: but one may conjecture that St Saviour's altar was transferred to the Jesus Chapel, and St William's removed to the site under the rood-loft at some time not very long before Browne's episcopate.

At the entrance of the passage leading under the screen are two niches, now equalised in height. Dr Jessopp has told me that within living memory one of these was constructed to contain a smaller statue than the other: the pedestal was much higher. It seems a natural inference that one niche had in it the small image of the boy William, and the other that of our Lady.

Whatever the history of this curious anomaly was, an unintelligent restoration has obliterated it.

The principal document for the liturgical commemoration of St William is a passage in the Norwich Consuetudinary now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 465). This has been printed by Dean Goulburn (l.c. p. 155) from a transcript by Mr Henry Bradshaw. The kalendar of the MS. places the "Passio S. Willelmi martiris" on Mar. 24. There is no proper Collect, and no Proper Lessons: both are taken, says Mr Bradshaw, simply from the Service for the Feast of Relics.

In another great Norwich service-book, the Ormesby Psalter (Bodl. Douce 366), which was given by brother Robert de Ormesby in the fourteenth century for the use of the sub-priors of Norwich, is a Litany of later date than the rest of the book. Among the martyrs St William is directed to be twice invoked, thus:

Sancte Willelme ii ora pro nobis.

This double invocation indicates that special honour was paid to the saint thus marked out in the Church to which the book belonged.

The Chapel of St William in the Wood demands a few words. Thomas has not much to tell us about it. On p. 279 he says that it was dedicated in 1168 on Ap. 27 by Bishop William Turbe; and on p. 285 we are told that it was of wood. Blomefield (IV. 425) asserts that it was the same as St Catherine's Chapel, which had been founded about the time of the Conquest, and was afterwards reconsecrated to the honour of St William: while Goulburn gives a photograph of a plan of the site from Kirkpatrick's MSS., which shews that about 1720 when the plan was made, few remains of the chapel itself existed. Kirkpatrick's note on it is: "A. the place where the chappel stood, the rubbish of which is over grown with grass."

In the Cathedral accounts for the years 1407, 1409, 1482, 1483, 1506 the Eleemosynarius specifies the offerings made at this chapel.

There were no doubt a good many pictures and images of the boy saint in Norwich itself, some in the Cathedral, others in parish churches: one there was at St Martin at the Plain (Blomefield, IV. 309). There was also a guild of St William, held at St Michael's at Thorn (*ib.* p. 135). At present, however, only some screen-

panels survive as specimens of the manner of representing St William which was in use in his city. The number of extant pictures of the little saint which I have been able to trace does not amount to a dozen in all: and the majority of them are rude paintings of the fifteenth century on the panels of Norfolk rood-screens.

The best is perhaps that at Loddon Church, Norfolk, which seems to belong to the first half of the fifteenth century. This screen has one peculiarity, that the paintings on it are of scenes, not of single figures. St William's martyrdom comes next to the Annunciation. The saint, who wears a loin cloth, is attached to a pole placed transversely in the forks of two rough uprights. His body presents the appearance of a saltire cross. The hands above the head, the legs apart. The left hand is bound, the right nailed to the cross-bar: the left foot is nailed, the right bound, to the uprights. This shews a knowledge, though a perverted knowledge, of the story told by Thomas. In order to be in complete agreement therewith, the artist should have bound the right hand and foot and nailed the left hand and foot. Over the boy's nimbed head a tree-top is seen, perhaps indicating Thorpe Wood.

On the left are three men, the foremost in gown and hat; on the right two men in doublets, the foremost of whom pierces the boy's left side with a knife, and holds a basin to receive the blood. This detail intimates a belief on the artist's part that the Jews would use the blood for ritual purposes.

Below the picture is the inscription 'Scs̄ Wylelmus.'

Next in merit I would place the painting on the screen at Eye in Suffolk. Between Eye and St William we have shewn that a connexion existed by way of Pershore Abbey.

The screen at Eye, or at least its paintings, must belong to the last quarter of the fifteenth century; for it has on it a picture of King Henry the Sixth.

St William is a full-length figure, standing on ground dotted with small trees. He is a boy with long curling hair in a long sleeved robe reaching to his feet, semée with stars. His hands and feet are pierced: with his right hand he supports a long cross resting on his shoulder, and in his left hand holds three nails. He has a cusped nimbus. Behind his head a curved band crosses the picture. It is tipped with Tudor flowers, and indicates that the figure is standing in a niche. The background is dotted

with five-petalled flowers above the band, with floreated crosses below.

A screen-panel formerly in St John's Maddermarket at Norwich and now in the South Kensington Museum shews St William in a cope or cloak fastened at the neck, over a long tunic. Three nails (or thorns) are stuck in his scalp, which is bleeding: he holds three nails in his right hand, and a hammer in his left. Above his head is a shield with a merchant's mark.

In the possession of J. J. Colman, Esq., who has kindly allowed it to be photographed for this work, is a series of panels from the destroyed rood-screen of St James's Church at Norwich. The last figure on the right represents St William. He is clad in a cloak fastened at the neck, over a long tunic with girdle. He faces to the left: his feet are bare, and he holds in his right hand a sharp knife, point upwards. This panel, which is of good design, has been repainted to some extent. The name which was inscribed below the figure has almost entirely disappeared.

The screen at Worstead, Norfolk, has also a representation of St William. The figure, in cloak and tunic and crown of thorns, faces to the right and holds two nails in the left hand, and a hammer in the right. A band of ornament in relief crosses the panel at the head level. The name William is inscribed below.

At Litcham, Norfolk, a painting has existed: but a photograph of the panel shews an absolute blank. Dr Jessopp, however, who has visited the church, tells me that he can distinguish a thick cord round the forehead of the figure, and a knife or something like it, in the right hand. This screen has or had a figure of Henry VI.

At Somerleyton, Suffolk, is a series of figures on the screen; but the one which is said to represent either St William or St Robert of Bury is to all appearance a female saint.

The neighbouring church of Ashby had once a series of frescoes, now whitewashed over, one of which is said to have represented St William. It is not, however, now possible to obtain any copy or detailed description of this painting.

In the Nuremberg Chronicle (f. cci. *b*) is a woodcut of the martyrdom. The tau-shaped cross lies on the ground, head to left. On it is William, in a long robe. His feet are bound to the cross and so is his left arm. An executioner stands on the right arm and pulls at it with a rope: a second kneels and drives a nail into the left hand: a third standing on the foot of the cross drills

a hole in it with an auger. Beside this last is a basket with cord and tools. The ground slopes up to the left: in the background are trees.

This ends the list of the mediæval representations which I have been able to see or hear of. I have never encountered a picture of the saint in a MS. or in painted glass. Two later engravings exist: one "of the last century" in an illustrated copy of Blomefield, bequeathed by Dr Sayer to the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. This shews St William crucified in the foreground and scourged in the background.

The other is earlier: it is one of a series of plates of crucifixions by Cornelius Galle which appeared in P. Biverus's *Sacrum Sanctuarium Crucis et Patientiae,* Antwerp, Plantin, 1634. Nos. 53—57 represent boys crucified by the Jews: there is nothing to distinguish the plate representing St William from the rest.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1132 or 1133 2 Feb. Birth of St William (i. 2).
Miracle of the liberated penitent (i. 2).

1140 or 1141 William is apprenticed to a skinner in Norwich (i. 3).

1144 20 March (Monday before Easter). William and the traitor visit William's mother (i. 4).

21 March (Tuesday before Easter). William taken to the Jewry (i. 5).

22 March (Wednesday before Easter). William murdered by the Jews (i. 5).

23 March (Maundy Thursday). The Council of the Jews (i. 6).

24 March (Good Friday). The body taken to Thorpe Wood: Aelward Ded: the sheriff bribed: the light seen over the wood (i. 7—9).

25 March (Easter Eve). The body found by Legarda and Henry de Sprowston (i. 10, 11).

26 March (Easter Day). The crowd from Norwich visit the body (i. 12).

27 March (Easter Monday). Henry de Sprowston buries the body in the wood (i. 12).

*** The vision of Lewin is dated in Holy Week, some time after Wednesday (ii. 4). (M. R. J.)

(?28) March (Easter Tuesday). Godwin Sturt exhumes and buries the body. His wife, and William's mother, learn the story (i. 13—15).

Circa 10 April (?). The Synod: Godwin's accusation of the Jews: they are summoned: they retreat within the Castle. These events occupy two days (i. 16).

24 April (Monday). First Translation of the body, from Thorpe Wood to the Monks' Cemetery (i. 17).

*** The delivery of Botilda takes place about this time (i. 17). The miracle of Dunwich (ii. 7).

1146 Bishop Eborard retires.
Bishop William Turbe succeeds.
Death of John de Caineto (ii. 15).
? Murder of Eleazar (ii. 13).
? 1148 Trial before Stephen (ii. 14).
1149 Death of Aelward Ded (i. 8).
1150 6, 19, 26 March. (1st Monday in Lent, and 3rd and 4th Sundays in Lent.) Visions of Thomas (iii. 1).
13 (12) April (Wednesday before Easter). Second Translation, into the Chapter-house (iii. 1).
17 (16) April (Easter Day). Incident of the carpet and light (iii. 3).
Gaufrid cured of the toothache (iii. 4).
11 June (Trinity Sunday). Cure of Muriel de Setchy (iii. 8).
Miracles of Book iii. (9—32).
22 Oct. Death of Prior Elias (iv. 1).
Richard de Ferrariis succeeds as Prior.
Restoration of the carpet to St William's tomb (iv. 8).
1151 2 July. Third Translation, from the Chapter-house to the south side of the High Altar.
1152 Lent. Deliverance of Gerard (v. 10).
Easter. Miracle of the Psalter (v. 11).
? 1153 Miracles of Book v., including the death of William's mother, after Whitsun week (v. 21).
1154 5 April. Fourth Translation, into the Martyrs' Chapel (vi. 1).
Miracles of Book vi.
1155 Recrudescence of the Miracles (vii. *Prol.*).
1156 Whitsun week. Cure of a dumb boy of Repps (vii. 9).
1168 27 April. Consecration of the chapel of St William in the wood by Bishop William Turbe (vii. 18).
Miracle of the sorceress (vii. 18).
1169 or 1170 Cure of Agnes, daughter of Adam of Croome (vii. 18).
1172 Cure of Gaufrid of Canterbury (vii. 19).
1172 or 1173 The Prologue to the book written.
1174 Death of Bishop William Turbe.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

p. lxv. Elviva or Elwina. It is something in favour of the former spelling that in Hermann's Miracles of St Edmund (*Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, i. 91) the name of a girl is given as Lyeveva (cf. Leviva, the name of St William's aunt).

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LIBER PRIMVS.

<Incipit> prologus de uita et <pas>sione Sancti Willelmi Martyris Norwicensis.

REVERENDE sanctitatis patri et domino Willelmo dei gratia Norwicensi episcopo Thomas Monemutensis monachorum suorum minimus salutem et debitum obedientie famulatum. Generali amori uestro speciali meo deuote connexus paternitati uestre offerendum et communicandum presens opusculum curaui, tam uestri cupidus iudicii quam nostri studiosus inuenti. Cumque eloquentiam uestram ipsa congnouerit Roma, compererit Gallia, uniuersa quoque sepissime senserit Anglia, admirari neminem congruit prudentissime discussionis uestre me subire iuditium, uestreque ferule subducere manum. Nouerunt siquidem tam ultramarini

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Here beginneth the Prologue concerning the Life and Passion of Saint William the Martyr of Norwich.

To His Holiness the Reverend Father and Lord William by the grace of God Bishop of Norwich

Thomas Monemutensis the least of his monks sendeth greeting and all due obedient service.

Sympathising as I do, with a special devotion of my own, in that love which all men bear towards you, I have been careful to offer and convey the present short work to your Fathership, being as desirous to obtain your judgment upon it as I am anxious about my own undertaking. And because Rome herself has had knowledge of your eloquence, and Gaul has had good proof of it, and all England has very often felt its force; no one need be surprised that I should submit myself to the judgment of your very searching criticism, and humble myself as a learner to your teaching. For they who dwell beyond the sea, as well as our own Englishmen, know what great streams of eloquence from

quam Angli nostri quanta eloquentie uestre diffluant flumina, quantaque uobis in diuinis seu liberalibus studiis peritia et dicendi affluat copia. Itaque gloriosi Martiris Willelmi miracula compositurus paternitatis uestre dilectionem, dilectionis benignitatem, ac benignitatis humiliter imploro gratiam, ut presumptionis mee imperfectioni perfecta concedatur uenia. Cum sim enim ingenio tardus et indoctus eloquio, compellente tamen beati martȳris amore, quia uirtutes eius tacere non possum, more balbutientium puerorum qui se sponte adhoc ingerunt quod plene explere non possunt, utcumque tamen susurrare conatus sum. Verum id non ambigo quoniam apud omnipotentem et pium dominum non tam operis effectus quam pie uoluntatis simplex attenditur affectus. Vnde lectorem premoneo, siquis tamen hec amore captus legere uoluerit, sub huius opusculi serie non eloquentiam, non uerborum leporem querat, sed magis inuidis siue detrectoribus pro me respondeat, nouo scilicet operi ueniam concedendam. Hec autem dico, non quo studium nostrum quasi sub excusationis nubilo insolenter extollam, sed quo sudoris conscius

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you have gone forth abroad, how great your knowledge is of divine and human learning, and how ready is your fluency in speech. And therefore when I set myself to put together the miracles of the glorious Martyr William, I humbly beg for the love of your Fathership, for that kindliness which is the outcome of love, and that favour which springs from kindliness, that, for the imperfection that is the outcome of my presumption, a perfect pardon may be granted me. For being as I am slow of wit and unskilled in eloquence, yet nevertheless, my love for the blessed martyr constraining me, because I cannot hold my peace about his virtues, so after the manner of lisping children who after a fashion of their own set themselves to do that which they are not able to carry out—I too have attempted in some sort to make my mutterings plain. This, however, I do not doubt, that in the presence of the Almighty and gracious Lord, the execution of any work is less regarded than the simple motive of a devout intention.

Wherefore I forewarn the reader (always supposing that anyone shall be willing to read these things, in a loving spirit) that he must not look in the course of this little work for eloquence or charm of style, but rather on my behalf may make answer to carping detractors that some indulgence ought to be allowed for this novel attempt. This however I say not that I may unfairly exalt my attempt with a cloud of excuses, but that I may tempt those who wish for something new to read; conscious, as I am, that I have taken pains about it. Travellers

ad lectionem nouam desiderantes inuitem. Viatores non nunquam gratiorem habuere aquam breuis uene stillantem fonticulo cum siciunt quam profluentes fontis riuos quorum copiam sitis tempore non inueniunt. Sed et hortorum amena mirantibus herbe agrestes non nunquam placuerunt. Illud etiam plerumque contingere solet Virgilianum quod *alba ligustra cadunt, uaccinia nigra leguntur.* Excusat utique materia scriptorem: cui enim uerborum abiecta displicuerit multiplicitas sensus saltem fidelis non displicebit ueritas. Malui siquidem uerecundiam meam neggligere quam tot ac tantas sacri martyris Willelmi uirtutes obliuione uel ignorantie situ ueterascere. Et quoniam passionem eius atque miracula sub incude nostra informari fratrum postulauit karitas, ea pie fidelium deuotioni propalanda aggredior studio non tam eleganti quam fideli. Atque ut asellus nec oneri sufficiens nec reniti ualens ultro me tam pie exactioni submitto. Verumptamen huius oneris portitorem quempiam maluissem alterum qui ad feren<dum apti>or inueniretur et esset. Quod quia non contigit, me malo esse quam neminem. Dumque id tam audacter aggrediar presumptionis me reum fateor, sed detur uenia

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sometimes when they are athirst have found that water more delicious which trickles from some little spring in a tiny rill than that of gushing streams of some fountain whose abundance they have not come upon at the moment of their need. Aye! and the wild flowers too have been a joy to such as delight in the glories of the gardens. And that saying of Virgil's often comes true, *Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.*

The subject matter of a writer too sometimes pleads his excuse, for even where a silly redundancy of words may irritate, there the truth that underlies them will give no offence. I have preferred at any rate to sacrifice my own modesty rather than that the many and great virtues of the holy martyr William should pass away in oblivion or through the rust of ignorance: and because the good wishes of the brethren has demanded that his passion and miracles should be put into shape upon my anvil, I set myself to comply with this pious wish of the believers with less desire to be elegant than faithful. And like the ass that was not up to the burden nor yet strong enough to get rid of it, I quietly submit myself to that which is so devoutly laid upon me. I should, however, have wished that anyone else could have been found more fit to bear the load than I. But as this has not come to pass, I prefer that it should be I than no one. But in setting to work so boldly I confess myself open to the charge of presumption, but let

cum excuset cogens exactio fraterna. Non est autem presumere sanctorum uitas ac uirtutes scire uolentibus propalare. *Secretum quippe regis celare bonum est, opera dei manifestare honorificum* et unicuique debitum christiano. Si quis uero aliqua in libello presenti non uerisimilia interserta reppererit, non tamen mendacii reatum nobis imputet, quoniam non nisi que uidimus uel que fama diuulgante cognouimus ad presentium et futurorum instruendam deuotionem litteris mandare curamus. Nec me quisquam estimet amoris studio aliquid posuisse quod fide careat, quandoquidem melius sit penitus nichil dicere quam falsum ad fallendum proferre, cum non ignoremus de omni nos sermone rationem reddituros. <Melius> est profecto linguam silentio reprimere quam ad anime detrimentum falsa narrare. Quoniam igitur *os quod mentitur occidit animam,* mihi absit sacris mentiri rebus siue *uerbum adulterare domini.* Cum uero tantum tante ueritatis presentibus seculis affluat indicium, cur necesse habeam uel uerum supprimere uel mendacia concinnare? Itaque non a maliuolis falsarius siue mendatiorum dicar compilator, quasi, quemadmodum ait beatus, Ieronimus *errores non auferam sed fictitia seram.* Cesset

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pardon be mine, inasmuch as the pressure of the brethren which compels me is my excuse. For it is not presumption to publish the lives and virtues of the saints to those who are desirous of knowing them. *The secrets of kings it is well to hide, but to make manifest the works of God is honourable* and the duty of every Christian man.

If, however, some things introduced in this little book should seem to any improbable, let him not therefore account me guilty of falsehood, since I have been careful to set down nothing which I have not seen or which I have not come to the knowledge of by common report, and I offer it for the edification of those who are now alive and those who shall be hereafter. And let no one think that I have introduced anything from motives of affection, which is untrue, since it is better to say nothing at all than to put forth anything false with a view to deceive; for we are not ignorant that *we shall have to give account for every word,* and it were better to restrain the tongue with silence than to utter falsehood for the damage of the soul. Since therefore *the lying mouth destroyeth the soul,* far be it from me to lie in holy things or *to handle the word of God deceitfully.* But since such clear proof of so great a truth is forthcoming for the present age, what need have I either to suppress what is true or to invent falsehoods? Therefore I would fain not be called a falsifier by the ill-disposed or an inventor of lies, as if, in the words of the blessed Hieronymus, "I were not getting

ergo contra nos arcuato uulnere insurgere scorpius; sanctumque opus uenenata carpere lingua desistat. Verum nostri laboris emulus quociens caninas in nos erexerit cristas, humilitatis nostre opusculum uestra presul uenerande uenerabilis patrocinetur auctoritas. Sunt enim nonnulli qui peruerso ducti spiritu sicut que scripta sunt credere renuunt, sic a plerisque testificata reprehendunt, immo et uisa tamquam ficta fastidiunt, non habentes in fide quod apostolus Thomas gestabat in corde, *nisi uidero non credam.* Sed uoce dominica dico, *beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt.* Ex huiusmodi quisquis es, hoc attende; quia etsi non omnia ab omnibus, a diuersis tamen diuersa poterant sciri, ea que multis cognita esse que ipse minus uel audire uel uidere potuisti. Semper in propatulo habet emulos fortitudo, *feriuntque summos fulgura montes.* Vnde et Plinius: *optima queque uideri uolunt obtrectare plerique quam discere.* Caue igitur, obtrectator, ne dum rata reprehendis in blasphemie traharis errorem. Inter hec omnia lector diligens diligenter attendat ne et labor noster et ipsius studium pereat. Eligat unusquisque quod uelit et

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rid of errors but spreading abroad fictions." Wherefore let the scorpion cease from rising up against us with stinging words, and the poisoned tongue forbear from carping at a holy task. But as often as some carper at my task shall lift up his cur's crest, may your authority, O master and Prelate revered, extend its patronage over my little work's insignificance. For there are some who, led away by a spirit of perversity, as they refuse to believe those things that are written, so also reject those things which have been testified by very many. Aye! and sneer even at those things which have been actually seen as if they were inventions, not having as much faith as Thomas retained in his heart, *If I see not I will not believe.* But in the Lord's words I answer, *Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.*

Whoever thou art that art of this manner of men, hearken to me. Though not all things can be known of all, yet different things can be known by different men, and some things there are which are known to many and which notwithstanding you may not have the power to hear or to see. The venturesome when exposed to the public gaze always provoke rivalry, *feriuntque summos fulgura montes.* And hence that saying of Pliny's, *optima queque videri volunt obtrectare plerique quam discere.* Wherefore, O caviller, beware lest while thou settest thyself against certainties thou be drawn into the mistake of blasphemy.

Meanwhile the careful reader will diligently ponder all things so that neither my pains nor his study be wasted. Let each one choose

fastidiosum potius se probet quam maliuolum. In domo quippe domini cum urna aurea et fictilis est necessaria. Postremo duplicem a te ueniam, lector, deposco; hinc quod soloecismis et uerborum abiectione aures tuas uulnero, inde quod prolixior pagina uidetur parturire fastidium. Sed non pigeat recensere quod Christum prestare non piguit: qui dum sanctos suos glorificat nos exemplis gloriosis inuitat. Ne autem lectoris diligentia multiplicitatis pigrescat tedio quantulam libelli nostri quantitatem in septem curaui codicellos distinguere, ut per interualla respirans pia legentis deuotio ad percurrenda singula promtior ad anteriora nunquam desistat anelare. Primum siquidem IIII^or^ distinguens gradibus sanctam sancti martyris pueritiam et uenerabilem eiusdem descripsi passionem, sacrique corporis siluis expositi et adhuc sub diuo iacentis declaratam celestibus indiciis subiungens reuelationem primam ex silua scilicet in urbem subieci translationem: secundum uero tripliciter partiens codicellum, sancta uirtutum eius primordia dignis condigna relatione uisionibus et miraculorum signis declarata prelibaui, et deinde christianicidarum iudeorum exposito excidio, demum christianorum ac succedentium Norwici

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what he will and prove himself rather critical than malevolent. Verily in the house of God there is need of the golden urn and the potter's vessel.

Lastly, I ask my reader for indulgence in two respects; first in case I wound his ears by solœcisms and poverty of language, and secondly in case my prolixity produce weariness. But let him not grudge to dwell on that which Christ did not grudge to perform,—He who while He glorifies His holy ones invites us on by their glorious examples. But that the reader may not become tired by the length of this book, I have been at the pains to break up the bulk of my book into seven small divisions, that so the reader's devotion, drawing breath as it were at intervals, may go through each separate portion the more readily and never cease to press onward. In the first book I have dealt by four steps with (i) The Holy Martyr's holy boyhood. (ii) I have described his awful passion. (iii) The discovery of his holy body, that was exposed in the wood while still lying in the open air, and how it was made known by heavenly signs. (iv) I have added the narrative of its first removal from the wood into the city.

I have divided the second book [codicellum] into three parts, (i) the early indications of his virtues in a narrative worthy of his worth, and made clear by visions and miraculous signs, and (ii) afterwards I have set forth the murder of the Christian-slaying Jews. Lastly I

iudeorum coram rege Stephano disceptationem supposui peroratoriam. Tertium bifarie diuidendo, secundam sacri corporis translationem mirabilemque sepulcri eius exaltationem descripsi et pro<inde> recuperationem luminis q<uibus>dam adiunctis miraculis <adu>naui. Quartum triformiter distinguendo, premissis nonnullis miraculis, primo sublati tapeti restitutionem, medio sanctorum dentium admirandam reuelationem, ordine tertio miram fonticuli sub radicibus arboris ubi primum expositus iacuit exposui inuentionem. Quinto autem libello tercia translatio declaratur, crebra miracula consequuntur, mors matris sancti martŷris uisione mira predicitur. Sexto quippe ab incarnatione domini anno M°. C°. LIIII°. quarta translatio facta describitur, quam consecuta frequens miraculorum multiplicitas comitatur. Septimus in miraculis totus toti libro finem imponit. Hanc igitur rei geste quibusdam compendii gratia distinctam gradibus ueritatem pius lector attendat, atque sub breui summa uniuersa percurrens quod inde magis concupiscit ubi inuenire possit agnoscat. Nunc uero quoniam prologi metam excessimus, reuocato cursu pro-

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have added a rhetorical version of the dispute in the presence of King Stephen between the Christians and the Jews at Norwich.

The third book I have divided into two parts. (i) I have described the second translation of the holy corpse by the wonderful exaltation of the sepulchre, and then (ii) I have told of the recovery of the light, with certain miracles added.

The fourth book I have divided into three parts, prefixing certain miracles. (i) The restitution of the carpet that was removed. (ii) The marvellous revelation of the holy teeth. (iii) The wonderful finding of the spring under the roots of the tree where he first lay exposed.

In the fifth book the third translation is told of. Several miracles follow. The death of the holy martyr's mother is foretold in a wonderful vision.

In the sixth book the fourth translation, which took place in the year of our Lord 1154, is described, and the large number of miracles which ensued.

The seventh book is wholly concerned with miracles, and brings the whole work to an end.

Let the devout reader accordingly give heed to the truth of this history, arranged by way of summary in these steps, and while running through the whole contents in my brief summary, let him take note where he may find what he most desires to find. But now, since I have

logum terminamus. Sub cuius <finem> uestram, uenerande presul <Wi>llelme, prudentissimam deprecor discretionem ut libellum presentem quem examinat[i]oni uestre committo diligenti percurratis animaduersione, superflua recidens, male dicta corrigens, et cetera, si qua tamen digna sint, in sua statione permittens. Vale, sanctissime pater.

Explicit prologus. Incipiunt capitula libri primi.

i. [D]e materne uisionis presagio.
ii. De Natiuitate sancti Willelmi et uenerabili pueritia.
iii. Qualiter ad iudeos diuertere solitus et ideo a suis increpatus, se inde retraxerit.
iv. Qualiter a iudeorum nuntio seductus fuerit.
v. Qualiter ad iudeos intrans, illusus sit et occisus.
vi. Quod consilium super eo occultando iudei acceperint.
vii. Qualiter et a quibus asportatus et in silua sit absconditus.
viii. Qualiter datis centum marcis uicecomiti tunc Iohanni, a timore pereundi liberati sunt iudei.

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exceeded the measure of a prologue, let us go back to whence we digressed, and bring this prologue to an end. At its end, I entreat your most prudent judgment, O most revered prelate William, that you may be pleased to go through with careful attention this little book which I commit to your examination—cut away what is redundant, correct what is said amiss, and for the rest, if there be aught worth retaining, let it keep its place.

Most holy father—Farewell.

End of the Prologue.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

(i) The forewarning of the mother's vision.

(ii) Concerning the birth of Saint William, and his venerable boyhood.

(iii) How he was wont to resort to the Jews, and for that was chidden by his family, and so withdrew himself from them.

(iv) How he was led astray by a messenger of the Jews.

(v) How he went to the Jews and was mocked and killed.

(vi) How the Jews were advised to hide him.

(vii) How and by whom he was carried away and concealed in the wood.

(viii) How the Jews were delivered from fear of being undone by the gift of a hundred marks to the then Sheriff, who was named John.

ix. Qualiter super corpus sancti martyris silua iacentis lux de celo fulserit in modum ignee scale.
x. Qualiter et a quibus inuentus sit.
xi. [I]tem inuentio altera sancto eodem sabbato pasche.
xii. Qualiter et a quibus in nemore sepultus sit.
xiii. Qualiter presbiter Godwinus an ipse sit scire uoluerit.
xiv. De presagio uisionis matertere illius.
xv. De planctu matris, de nece filii iudeos accusantis.
xvi. Qualiter in sŷnodo presbiter Godwinus de iudeis conquestus, ipsos de morte pueri Willelmi reuera reos esse se per dei iuditium probaturum obtulerit.
xvii. Quod Aimarus tunc sancti Pancratii de Lewes prior corpus sacri martiris tunc secum transferendi ab episcopo licentiam petierit.
xviii. Quomodo a silua in urbem allatus a monachis susceptus lotus atque omnibus membris incorruptus inuentus sit.
xix. De tumulatione ipsius in cimiterio monachorum.

(ix) How a light from heaven, in the form of a fiery ladder, shone over the body of the holy martyr as it lay in the wood.

(x) How and by whom he was found.

(xi) He is found a second time on the same holy Easter Even.

(xii) How and by whom he was buried in the wood.

(xiii) How the Priest Godwin wished to know whether it were he himself.

(xiv) Concerning the forewarning of a vision to his aunt.

(xv) Concerning the lament of his mother, who accused the Jews of the death of her son.

(xvi) How the Priest Godwin in the Synod complained of the Jews, and offered to prove *by the ordeal* (per iudicium dei) that they were verily guilty of the death of the boy William.

(xvii) How Aimar, then Prior of St Pancras of Lewes, begged from the Bishop for a license to carry away with him the body of the holy martyr.

(xviii) How he was brought from the wood into the city, was taken charge of by the monks, was washed and was found to be whole and uncorrupted.

(xix) Concerning his entombment in the monks' cemetery.

Incipit liber primus.

i. *De materni sompnii presagio.*

VOLENS diuine pietatis miseratio Norwicensem immo et totius Anglie uisitare prouintiam eique nouum nouis temporibus dare patronum, dedit puerum inter precipuos martires annumerandum uniuersis sanctorum agminibus honorandum in nescie matris uisceribus concipi, fecitque rosam odoriferam de spinis paulatim pullulare. Erat autem pater eius quidam Wenstanus nomine, mater uero Eluiua dicebatur, ruri quidem legitimam uitam agentes ac necessariis uite subsidiis admodum habundantes. Nullique uideatur absurdum puerum tante sanctitatis ac dignitatis futurum ab infimis parentibus deum uelle generari, cum et ipsum constet de pauperibus uoluisse nasci. Mater igitur sed nescia iam iam diuino nutu conceperat, ignoransque pululantia uirilis seminis germina sub uisceribus gestabat. Contigit autem admirabili honorande uisionis designari presagio quante sanctitatis foret et dignitatis quod gestabat in utero. Videbatur etenim dormienti illi secum patre suo Wluuardo presbitero famoso quidem illius

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HERE BEGINNETH THE FIRST BOOK.

i. *Concerning the forewarning in his mother's dream.*

The mercy of the Divine goodness desiring to display itself to the parts about Norwich, or rather to the whole of England, and to give it in these new times a new patron, granted that a boy should be conceived in his mother's womb without her knowing that he was to be numbered among illustrious martyrs and worthy to be honoured among all the army of the saints, and moreover brought it about that he should grow up little by little as a fragrant rose from the thorns.

His father was a certain Wenstan by name. His mother was called Elviva, and they passed their lives as honest people in the country, being somewhat well supplied with the necessaries of life and something more. Let it not seem absurd to any that a boy of such sanctity and destined for such honour should by God's will be born from lowly parents, when it is certain that He Himself was pleased to be born from among the poor. Accordingly his mother, though ignorant of the fact, had by divine goodness conceived, and, while still unaware, was with child. But it came to pass that she was favoured with a marvellous forewarning by a vision worthy of our honour, which revealed to her how great should be the sanctity and dignity of him whom she bore in her womb. It appeared to her as she slept that she was standing in a road with her father Wlward, a priest, a man very

temporis uiro in uia quadam una consistere, atque pre pedibus <deor>sum lumina inclinantem <pis>cem qui uulgo lucius di-c<itur> uidere. Piscis uero pinnas utrimque rubicundas et tanquam sanguine aspersas habebat duodecim. Aiebat igitur illa patri: Pater, piscem uideo; sed uehementer admiror quomodo huc aduenerit, uel qualiter in loco tam arido uiuere possit. Cui pater: Tolle filia, tolle illum, et in sinum repone. Quod cum fecisset uidebatur piscis in sinu se mouere et paulatim adeo succrescere, ut iam sinus ipsum comprehendere non posset. Elabitur ergo et per manicam exiens, assumptis subito alis sursum euolauit, nubesque transiens aperto sibi celo in ipsum se recepit. Quo uiso mulier expergefacta est, et quod nocte per sompnum uiderat, mane patri retulit. Pater itaque plurimam exponendarum uisionum peritiam habens, quid hoc presagii foret uel quid portenderet admiratus, primo secum excogitauit, atque singula reuoluens post modicum filie respondit: Noueris utique, dilectissima filia, te impregnari, et gaudio gaude, quoniam reuera paritura es filium qui et in terris honorem maximum consequetur et super altitudinem nubium eleuatus in celum plurimum exaltabitur. Scias

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famous in his time. And lo! as she bent her eyes upon the ground, there at her feet she beheld a fish which is known as a *luce*. The fish had twelve fins on each side, and they were red and as it were dabbled with blood. And she spake to her father and said, "Father, I see a fish, but I greatly marvel how it should have come here or how it can live in so dry a spot." To whom her father made answer, "Take it up, my daughter. Take it up and put it in thy bosom." Which when she had done, the fish seemed to move in her bosom and by degrees to grow so fast that now she could no longer hold it. So it glided out, and escaping by her sleeve and suddenly taking to itself wings, it flew away, and, passing through the clouds, betook itself to heaven, which opened to receive it.

The woman awoke from her vision, and in the morning she told her father what she had seen in her dream. Her father having much experience in the expounding of visions, wondering what was presaged and what it portended, first thought over it with himself, and, considering all the facts, after a while he made answer to his daughter, "Know assuredly, my dearest daughter, that thou art with child, and rejoice with joy, because that in very truth thou shalt bring forth a son who shall attain to highest honour in the earth, and after being raised above the clouds shall be exalted exceedingly in heaven. Know,

quoque cum puer duodennis fuerit etate ad huius tante culmen sublimabitur glorie. Non autem credendum est patrem filie tam certissimum huiusmodi uerbum denuntiare ex suo, sed ex diuino spiritu, cui soli constant presentia etiam que uentura sunt uniuersa. Iuxta patris etenim sermonem et filia filium habuit, qui et duodennis ad prelibati culmen honoris peruenit.

ii. *De natiuitate eius et infantia.*

EXCVRSO denique aliquanti temporis spatio et adueniente determinata pariendi die natus est mulieri filius, et uocatum est nomen eius Willelmus. Natus est autem die purificationis dei genitricis et uirginis Marie, die scilicet candelarum: et fortassis ut per hoc ipsum denotetur quoniam multe puritatis et sanctitatis puer foret, atque candelas et candelarum luminaria plurimum diligeret. Quod autem a matre et fratribus eius atque presbitero qui eum baptismo regenerauerat postmodum didici, nequaquam silentio pretereundum, sed et interserendum adiudicaui. Quippe ablactationis eius die dum pater eiusdem Wenstanus affines ad conuiuium euocatos festiue pasceret, penitentialis quidam brachia

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too, that when thy son shall have attained to twelve years, then he shall be raised to this pitch of glory." Now it is not credible that the father should have spoken these words to his daughter with so much certainty, of his own wisdom, but by the Holy Spirit's favour, to whom alone all things are present, even those things which are to come.

In accordance with her father's words, the daughter did bring forth a son, who also at twelve years of age did arrive at the height of honour which had been foretold.

ii. *Concerning his birth and infancy.*

Some time having elapsed and the day having arrived for his bringing forth, a son was born to the woman, and his name was called William. But he was born on the day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that is on Candlemas. Peradventure too by this is indicated how great the purity and sanctity of the child would be, and that he would greatly love candles and the brightness of them. But one circumstance, which I subsequently learnt from his mother and his brothers and the priest who had baptized him, I have judged ought not to be passed over, but inserted here. On the day of his weaning, when his father Wenstan was entertaining his kindred who had been invited to the feast, a man who was undergoing penance, with iron

ferreis innexus nexibus quasi ad elemosinam conuiuantibus intererat. Qui post cibum cibo letificatus cum puerulum manibus quasi applaudendo teneret, puerque puerili simplicitate ferreos admirans nexus palmulis eos palparet, uincula subito rumpuntur et in partes dissiliunt. Ad hec uisa stupefacti conuiue miris admirantur modis et quod contigerat pueri ascribunt meritis. Sicque penitentialis ille diuina liberatus gratia gratulabundus recessit et predictus presbiter qui conuiuantibus intererat dissolutos colligens nexus in ecclesia sua de Haueringelant tum ad presentium memoriam tum ad posterorum noticiam in propatulo deposuit atque eos diutius conseruare curauit. Mater quippe natum ceu quem summe diligebat summa diligentia educauit, et diligenter educando ab infantia ad intelligibiles pueritie annos perduxit. Qui dum septennis adhuc esset, ut matris relatione didici, adeo cepit abstinentie amator existere ut fratribus natu maioribus non ieiunantibus et ipse tribus in ebdomada feriis, scilicet secunda, quarta et sexta ieiunaret diebus. Apostolorum ceterasque sanctorum denuntiatas populo uigilias deuotis celebrabat ieiuniis; et excrescente paulatim deuotionis ardore nonnullos

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bands upon his arms, presented himself to the guests as if begging for alms; who after the dinner waxing merry, while he held the child in his hands as if admiring him, and the baby, in the innocence of childhood wondering at the iron fetters, began to handle them; suddenly the bonds broke and shivered into pieces. The guests, amazed at the sight, were greatly astonished, and attributed what had occurred to the merits of the child. Wherefore the penitent, set free by divine favour, went his way, giving thanks, and the priest aforesaid, who was present among the guests, collecting the broken rings, placed them in his church at Haveringland and deposited them in a conspicuous place, as well for keeping up the memory of those living as for a record to such as should come after; and he was careful that they should be safely preserved.

The mother, as she loved her child exceedingly, so did she educate him with exceeding care, and by carefully educating she brought him up from his infancy to the years of intelligent boyhood. When he was but seven years old—as I learnt from the mother's narrative—he became so devoted to abstinence that, though his elder brothers did not fast, he himself fasted on three days of the week—to wit the second, fourth and sixth days—and also celebrated the Vigils of the Apostles and of other Saints that were given notice of to the people by devout fasting. And his zeal going on increasing, he used to pass

pane contentus et aqua transigebat dies. Pietatis siquidem affluens uisceribus quod sibi de uictu subtrahere uel a matre precibus extorquere poterat, siquando aperte non auderet, totum pauperibus clam erogabat. Sed inter hec tum pius tum benignus adeo se prudenter agebat ut ex eodem facto et egentibus pro posse suo proficeret et parentibus molestiam non inferret. Ecclesiam quoque libentissime frequentabat; litteras, psalmos et orationes discebat et quecunque dei erant summa uenerabatur reuerentia. Diuin<a> illum in omnibus preueniente gratia diligenti appetebat studio, et ut omnibus mansuetus ab omnibus amaretur, et nulli in aliquo molestus fieret. Operabatur nimirum diuine dispensationis prouidentia in infantulo, scienter quidem nescio, et sapienter indocto, gratie sue magnalia; certisque iam tunc indiciis designabat quanti postmodum meriti futurus erat.

iii. *Quod ad iudeos diuertere solitus et a suis super hoc increpatus se inde retraxerit.*

CVM itaque tam uenerabili floreret pueritia et octauum iam ageret annum, a parentibus traditur pelliparii arte pelliparia instruendus. Quid multa? Docilitate uigens ingenii et diligentiam

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many days content with nothing but bread and water; and his whole inner man overflowing with piety, whatever he could save from his own portion of food or extort from his mother by his entreaties, he used to bestow upon the poor, sometimes openly and sometimes secretly. But while acting thus he conducted himself so dutifully, kindly and prudently, that as far as possible he at once benefitted the poor and did not cause his parents any annoyance. He was a most joyful attendant at church; he used to learn his letters and the psalms and prayers, and all the things of God he treated with the greatest reverence. The grace divine preventing him in all things, he strove with earnest effort by kindness to all, to gain the love of all, and to be burdensome to none. The foresight of God's economy wrought in the child (knowingly, though he knew it not; in wisdom, though he was unlearned) the mighty works of grace; and pointed out by sure signs even thus early how great his merits were to be in the days to come.

iii. *How he was wont to resort to the Jews, and having been chid by his own people for so doing, how he withdrew himself from them.*

When therefore he was flourishing in this blessed boyhood of his, and had attained to his eighth year, he was entrusted to the skinners to be taught their craft. Gifted with a teachable disposition and bringing

adhibens studio, in breui coequos in arte memorata longe antecessit, et nonnullos quos doctores habuerat equiparauit. Relicto denique rure, diuino illum trahente nutu, urbi se contulit atque cum quodam nominatissimo artis illius magistro moratus aliquanti temporis spatium transegit. Ruri siquidem rarus, urbi uero assiduus, circa prelibate artis sedulo studuit artificium, et ad duodecimum etatis peruenit annum. Dum ergo Norwici moraretur, iudei qui tunc temporis ibidem manebant et ad reparanda pallia, pellicias, uel cetera huiusmodi, seu que in uadimonio habebant, siue quibus utebantur, ipsum sibi pre omnibus pellipariis elegerunt. Illum etenim sibi maxime reputabant idoneum, siue quia simplicem et artificiosum didicerant, seu quoniam auaritia ducti minori ipsum pacari precio existimabant. Sed, quod magis credo, diuine nutu prouidentie ad martyrium ad quod a seculis predestinatus fuerat quibusdam ita paulatim gradibus trahebatur, et a iudeis in dominice passionis obprobrium deludendus et immolandus tanquam minus prudens et magis idoneus eligitur. A iudeis enim quibusdam ad fidem christianam postea conuersis ueraciter cognouimus quoniam eo tempore id ipsum de aliquo christiano facere pro-

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industry to bear upon it, in a short time he far surpassed lads of his own age in the craft aforesaid, and he equalled some who had been his teachers. So leaving the country, by the drawing of a divine attraction he betook himself to the city and lodged with a very famous master of that craft, and some time passed away. He was seldom in the country, but was occupied in the city and sedulously gave himself to the practice of his craft, and thus reached his twelfth year.

Now, while he was staying in Norwich, the Jews who were settled there and required their cloaks or their robes or other garments (whether pledged to them, or their own property) to be repaired, preferred him before all other skinners. For they esteemed him to be especially fit for their work, either because they had learnt that he was guileless and skilful, or because attracted to him by their avarice they thought they could bargain with him for a lower price. Or, as I rather believe, because by the ordering of divine providence he had been predestined to martyrdom from the beginning of time, and gradually step by step was drawn on, and chosen to be made a mock of and to be put to death by the Jews, in scorn of the Lord's passion, as one of little foresight, and so the more fit for them. For I have learnt from certain Jews, who were afterwards converted to the Christian faith, how that at that time they had planned to do this very thing with some Christian, and in order to carry out their malignant

posuerant, et ad complendum malignitatis sue propositum puerum Willelmum duodennem admodum reuera innocentem ab initio quadragesime preelegerant. Cum igitur uenerabilis puer excogitate fraudis ignarus iudeos frequentaret, a Godwino presbitero qui eius habebat materteram, et a quodam Wulwardo apud quem hospitabatur increpatus, et ne ad illos vlterius diuerteret, est prohibitus. Iudei uero de sui nimirum adnullatione consilii condolentes, totis uiribus ad resarciendum disposite malignitatis dampnum eo acrius institerunt quo et determinati facinoris exequendi uehementius dies instabat, et preda quam se iam cepisse estimabant e funestis longius elapsa manibus fuerat. Omnem itaque uersute machinationis sue conflantes astutiam, quendam christianum nescio siue iudeum uersutissimum quidem et congruum ad tam execrabilis facinoris exequendum flagitium repperiunt, et cum multa festinatione, quoniam pascha suum post triduum instabat, ad exquirendam ac reducendam predam quam e manibus eorum prediximus elapsam mittunt.

iv. *Qualiter a iudeorum nuntio seductus fuerit.*

ILLVSCESCENTE uero post ramos palmarum feria secunda, execrabilis ille iudeorum nuntius iniunctum sibi executurus

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purpose, at the beginning of Lent they had made choice of the boy William, being twelve years of age and a boy of unusual innocence. So it came to pass that when the holy boy, ignorant of the treachery that had been planned, had frequent dealings with the Jews, he was taken to task by Godwin the priest, who had the boy's aunt as his wife, and by a certain Wulward with whom he lodged, and he was prohibited from going in and out among them any more. But the Jews, annoyed at the thwarting of their designs, tried with all their might to patch up a new scheme of wickedness, and all the more vehemently as the day for carrying out the crime they had determined upon drew near, and the victim which they had thought they had already secured had slipped out of their wicked hands. Accordingly, collecting all the cunning of their crafty plots, they found—I am not sure whether he was a Christian or a Jew—a man who was a most treacherous fellow and just the fitting person for carrying out their execrable crime, and with all haste—for their Passover was coming on in three days—they sent him to find out and bring back with him the victim which, as I said before, had slipped out of their hands.

iv. *How he was seduced by the Jews' messenger.*

At the dawn of day, on the Monday after Palm Sunday, that detestable messenger of the Jews set out to execute the business that

negotium ab ipsis digreditur, summaque ab ipso exquisitus diligentia puer tandem Willelmus inuenitur. Inuentum fraudulentis uerborum circumuenit insidiis et circumuentum fallacibus tandem decepit promissis. Fingebat siquidem se Willelmi archidiaconi Norwicensis esse coquum, ac uelle se illum in coquina habere socium. In qua si secum perseueraret multa per illam commoda in posterum perciperet. Decipitur simplex puer, hominique se credidit. Super hoc tamen et materni fauoris habere uolens assensum, quoniam pater eius iam ab hac luce migrauerat, ad ipsam cum illo perrexit. Ad quam cum peruenissent, uie causam puer insinuat, et traditor iuxta prelibati sermonis tenorem fallatie sue tendiculam intentat. Promittens quippe multa filius ille perditionis puerilem inanibus pollicitis facilius illexit animum; sed primo super his maternum nullatenus extorquere potuit assensum. Insistenti siquidem traditori assentit puer innocens, sed resistit mater presagis uisceribus et materno affectu filio suo timens. Hinc traditor et inde mater: rogat ille, negat et illa. Rogat ille, sed ut perdat: negat illa, sed ne amittat. Ille se archidiaconi

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was committed to him, and at last the boy William, after being searched for with very great care, was found. When he was found, he got round him with cunning wordy tricks, and so deceived him with his lying promises. For he pretended that he was the cook of William, Archdeacon of Norwich[1], and that he wished to have him as a helper in the kitchen, where if he should continue steadily with him he would get many advantages in his situation. The simple boy was deceived, and trusted himself to the man; but, wishing to have his mother's favourable consent—for his father had died by this time—he started with the fellow to find her. When they had come to where she was, the boy told her the cause of his errand, and the traitor according to the tenour of his previous offer cast the net of his treachery. So that son of perdition by many promises easily prevailed upon the boy's mind by his tempting offers. Yet at first he could not at all gain the mother's consent; but when the scoundrel persisted the innocent boy agreed though his mother, moved by presentiment, resisted, and in her motherly affection feeling some fear for her son. On one side was the traitor, on the other the mother. He begs; she refuses. He begs, but only that he may make away with the boy. She refuses, afraid lest she should lose him. He asserts that he is the Archdeacon's cook, but she does not at all believe him. So between

[1] William, Archdeacon of Norwich, appears to have held the office from A.D. 1124 till 1150. *Le Neve's Fasti*, II. 478.

coquum asserit: illa uero nequaquam credit. Inter illam igitur et illum, ceu inter ouem et lupum prima fronte fortissimum, pro tercio duellum cerneres. Agnus erat medius, hinc ouis, inde lupus. Instat lupus ut diripiat et deuoret: perstat ouis ut eripiat et conseruet. Verum quia alteri puer illectus fauebat alteriusque sibi assensum incessanter supplicabat, mater tum crebris filii precibus conuicta, tum bonis uiri pollicitationibus seducta, demum assentire licet inuita compellitur. Indutias tamen filio uel usque post pascha petiit: sed traditor pro triginta argenteis pueri per triduum carere presentia se nolle iurauit. Negat mater, et iurat se non ante pascha filium dimissuram. Traditor itaque tres solidos e marsupio trahit, quibus materne pietatis labefactaret affectum et inconstantem feminee leuitatis rigorem, argenti splendore corruptum, ad cupidi<tatem> deflecteret. Porrigitur argentum quasi muneris immo reuera innocentis sanguinis precium; nec tamen adhuc materna concutitur pietas, neque pietatis quodammodo iam futuri presagus mali facile inflectitur affectus. Insistitur pariter, tum hinc precibus, tum inde et argenteis; ut si precum instantia indurati constantiam animi non emolliret, arridentis

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her and the other you might have seen a struggle as between a sheep and a wolf (who seemed at the first sight far the strongest) in defence of a third. The lamb was between them. Here stood the sheep and there the wolf. The wolf stands to it that he may rend and devour; the sheep holds her ground that she may rescue and save. But because the boy, being fascinated, favoured the one and kept on incessantly begging the consent of the other, the mother, partly overcome by her son's prayers and partly seduced by the man's fair promises, at last was compelled against her will to give way. She begged, however, for delay till after Easter; but the traitor swore he would not wait three days, not for thirty pieces of silver. The mother refused to let him go, and vowed she would not let him go before Easter. So the traitor took three shillings from his purse with intent to get the better of the mother's fancy and to bend the fickle stubbornness of a fickle woman, seduced by the glitter of money to the lust of gain. Thus the money was offered as the price of the innocent's service, or rather in truth as the price of his blood. But not even yet was the mother's devotion appeased, nor the presentiment of a coming evil easily removed. The wrangling still went on: on one side with prayers, and on the other with the pieces of silver, if so be that, though he could not prevail upon her stubbornness by his continual offers, the brightness of the coins that smiled at her might serve as a lure to her avarice. So the mother's

pecunie splendor ad cupiendum sollicitando inuitaret. His itaque matris acriter pulsabatur animus, et iam sub dubio posita paulatim titubabat materna pietas, et preclaris tandem illecta argenteis cupiditate conuincitur; et conuicta ad id quod nolebat uolens nolens inclinatur. Et quid multa? Conuicta denique matre, lupo committitur agnus et traditori puer traditur Willelmus.

v. *Qualiter ad iudeos intrans captus sit, illusus et occisus.*

MANE itaque traditor ille, ac fere per omnia Iude traditoris imitator, cum puero Norwicum regreditur, transiensque per domum matertere pueri cum puero intrauit, matrem sibi tradidisse eum dixit, et festinanter exiit. Tunc pueri matertera continuo filie ait; Cito prosequere illos, caute considerans quorsum homo ille puerum deducat. Egressa ergo puella, uiam illorum exploratura, diuertentes eos per priuata diuerticula a longe secuta est. Sequens uero tandem hospitium cuiusdam iudei subintrare conspexit, et continuo post eos hostium claudi attendit. Quo uiso ad matrem rediit, <que>que uiderat nuntiauit. Porro puer, uelut agnus

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mind was cruelly vanquished by these, even though the maternal affection only slowly gave way under the temptation and, seduced at last by the shining pieces of silver, she was the victim of her covetousness, and once overcome *nolens volens* she became inclined to that which yet she was averse to. What need of many words? The mother being gained over, the lamb was handed over to the wolf, and the boy William was given up to the betrayer.

v. *How on his going to the Jews he was taken, mocked and slain.*

In the morning accordingly that traitor, the imitator in almost everything of the traitor Judas, returns to Norwich with the boy, and as he was passing by the house of the boy's aunt he went in with him and said that the mother had entrusted the boy to himself, and then he went out again hastily. But the boy's aunt said quickly to her daughter, "Follow them at once, and take care you find out where that man is leading off the boy to." Thus the girl ran out to explore the way they were going; and she followed them at a distance as they turned about through some private alleys, and at last she saw them entering cautiously into the house of a certain Jew, and immediately she heard the door shut. When she saw this she went back to her mother and told her what she had seen.

Then the boy, like an innocent lamb, was led to the slaughter. He was treated kindly by the Jews at first, and, ignorant of what was

innocens ad occisionem adductus, a iudeis blande suscipitur, et quid negotii erga se tractaretur ignarus in crastinum reseruatur. Postera uero luce, que illis anno illo paschalis aderat, expletis que ad diem festum pertinebant in synagoga canticis, iudeorum principes in memorati iudei domo pariter conueniunt, puerumque Willelmum epulantem et nichil fraudis prorsus metuentem subito rapiunt, eique uariis ac miserabilibus illudunt modis. Quibusdam etenim eum a tergo tenentibus; alii aperto ori tormentum quod uulgo teseillun dicitur intromiserunt, atque per utrasque fauces ad posteriorem colli partem reductis corrigiis firmissimo astrinxerunt nodo. Postmodum uero breui funiculo auricularis fere digiti habente grossitudinem arrepto, trinumque in eo certis locis assignantes nodum, caput illud innocens a fronte in occiput circumcingunt: medium quippe fronti nodum extremosque alios hinc et inde timporibus imprimentes, utrarumque partium capitibus ad occiput strictissime contractis, et strictissimo confecto ibi nodo, quod funiculi supererat circa collum itidem hinc et inde ad anteriora colli sub mento contrahendo reducunt, ibique illud insolitum tormenti genus in quinto nodo consummant. Sed necdum his

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being prepared for him, he was kept till the morrow. But on the next day, which in that year was the Passover for them[1], after the singing of the hymns appointed for the day in the synagogue, the chiefs of the Jews assembled in the house of the Jew aforesaid suddenly seized hold of the boy William as he was having his dinner and in no fear of any treachery, and illtreated him in various horrible ways. For while some of them held him behind, others opened his mouth and introduced an instrument of torture which is called a teazle, and, fixing it by straps through both jaws to the back of his neck, they fastened it with a knot as tightly as it could be drawn. After that, taking a short piece of rope of about the thickness of one's little finger and tying three knots in it at certain distances marked out, they bound round that innocent head with it from the forehead to the back, forcing the middle knot into his forehead and the two others into his temples, the two ends of the rope being most tightly stretched at the back of his head and fastened in a very tight knot. The ends of the rope were then passed round his neck and carried round his throat under his chin, and there they finished off this dreadful engine of torture in a fifth knot.

But not even yet could the cruelty of the torturers be satisfied without

[1] In A.D. 1144 Easter fell on the 26th March, and the Jews' Passover on the 25th. The boy's mother when begging for three days desired to keep her son with her till Easter Monday.

torquentium exsaturari poterat crudelitas nisi et grauiores superadderent penas. Capite etenim raso infinitis illud spinarum punctionibus uulnerant, inflictisque uulneribus miserabiliter cruentant. Adeoque crudeles atque promptissimi in inferenda erant pena ut uix discerneres utrum crudeliores siue ad torquendum forent promptiores. Crudelitati siquidem uires et arma fouebat et subministrabat torquendi peritia. Ita ergo christiani nominis aduersariis <tali ma>lignitatis spiritu circa puerum debachantibus aliqui eis interfuerunt qui in dominice passionis obprobrium crucis illum adiudicarunt patibulo. Factumque est ac si dicerent: Quemadmodum Christum morte turpissima condempnauimus, et christianum pariter condempnemus, ut dominum ac seruum pari plectentes pena improperii eius penam quam nobis asscribunt in ipsos retorqueamus. Ad exequendum igitur tante et tam execrande malitie conspirantes flagitium mox innocentem uictimam manibus cruentis arripiunt et a terra sublatum patibuloque applicatum pari uoto certatim extinguere contendunt. Et nos rem diligentius inquirentes et domum inuenimus et rei geste signa certissima in ipsa deprehendimus et manifesta. Erat autem, ut fama traditur, pro patibulo postis inter postes duos medius lignaque

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adding even more severe pains. Having shaved his head, they stabbed it with countless thorn-points, and made the blood come horribly from the wounds they made. And cruel were they and so eager to inflict pain that it was difficult to say whether they were more cruel or more ingenious in their tortures. For their skill in torturing kept up the strength of their cruelty and ministered arms thereto. And thus, while these enemies of the Christian name were rioting in the spirit of malignity around the boy, some of those present adjudged him to be fixed to a cross in mockery of the Lord's passion, as though they would say, "Even as we condemned the Christ to a shameful death, so let us also condemn the Christian, so that, uniting the Lord and his servant in a like punishment, we may retort upon themselves the pain of that reproach which they impute to us."

Conspiring, therefore, to accomplish the crime of this great and detestable malice, they next laid their blood-stained hands upon the innocent victim, and having lifted him from the ground and fastened him upon the cross, they vied with one another in their efforts to make an end of him. And we, after enquiring into the matter very diligently, did both find the house, and discovered some most certain marks in it of what had been done there. For report goes that there was

ad ipsos a medio in dexteram et utrobique porrecta. Et sicut per uulnerum et uinculorum uestigia postmodum reuera deprehendimus, a dextris dextera et pes dexter uinculis strictissime coartantur; a sinistris uero leua nec non et pes leuus gemino clauo affigitur. Hec autem ex industria sic agebantur ne scilicet quandoque inuentus deprehensis in eo hinc et inde clauorum fixuris, a iudeis non a christianis deprehenderetur utique fuisse occisus. Sed dum hec facientes, penis penas et uulnera superadderent uulneribus, necdum tamen crudelitatis sue uecordiam extinguere et innatam sibi christiani nominis inuidiam poterant saciare. Nempe post tot et tantos supplitiorum cruciatus sinistro eius lateri usque ad cordis intima uulnus acerbum infligunt, et quasi finem rei facientes uitam in ipso quantum in ipsis fuit mortalem extinguunt. Et quoniam per totum corpus plurimi sanguinis defluebant riui, tum ad reprimendum sanguinem tum ad lauanda et claudenda uulnera, a capite deorsum feruentissimam infuderunt aquam. Sic itaque gloriosus puer et martyr Christi Willelmus in dominice mortis obprobrium temporaliter moriens, gloriosi sanguine martyrii laureatus, superne glorie adeptus est

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there instead of a cross a post set up between two other posts, and a beam stretched across the midmost post and attached to the other on either side. And as we afterwards discovered, from the marks of the wounds and of the bands, the right hand and foot had been tightly bound and fastened with cords, but the left hand and foot were pierced with two nails: so in fact the deed was done by design that, in case at any time he should be found, when the fastenings of the nails were discovered it might not be supposed that he had been killed by Jews rather than by Christians. But while in doing these things they were adding pang to pang and wound to wound, and yet were not able to satisfy their heartless cruelty and their inborn hatred of the Christian name, lo! after all these many and great tortures, they inflicted a frightful wound in his left side, reaching even to his inmost heart, and as though to make an end of all they extinguished his mortal life so far as it was in their power. And since many streams of blood were running down from all parts of his body, then, to stop the blood and to wash and close the wounds, they poured boiling water over him.

Thus then the glorious boy and martyr of Christ, William, dying the death of time in reproach of the Lord's death, but crowned with the blood of a glorious martyrdom, entered into the kingdom of glory

regnum eternaliter uiuens[1]. Cuius anima inter egregia agmina sanctorum in celis feliciter exultat; cuius corpus diuine miserationis omnipotentia in terris gloriose mirificat.

vi. *Quale consilium super eo occultando acceperunt.*

COMPLETO itaque malignitatis sue proposito iudei secum de cetero consulentes corpus exanime poste dependens deponere curauerunt, et quid super eo faciant commune consilium ineunt. Aiunt plurimi illud in inmundo loco proiciendum, tanquam in obprobrii et dedecoris augmentum. Astutiores uero nonnulli tellure abscondendum putant, ne ipsum christiani aliquatenus inuenire preualeant. Sed diuina dispensante† clementia que tam egregium martŷrem posteris reuelandum temporibus prouidebat, nec loco immundo deici neque tellure permisit abscondi. Diuino igitur id ipsum dispensante consilio, dubitantibus illis et quid faciant nichil adhuc pro certo habentibus, omnes in hoc unanimes consentiunt ut, dum circa id negocii diligentius excogitent, ipsum loco secretiori interdum conseruent. Crastina uero illuscescente

[1] Anno ab incarnatione domini M°C°XLIIII°. XI°. Kal. Apriles feria IIII^a^, die Mercurii.

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on high to live for ever[1]. Whose soul rejoiceth blissfully in heaven among the bright hosts of the saints, and whose body by the omnipotence of the divine mercy worketh miracles upon earth.

vi. *How they took counsel about hiding him.*

Thus, their wicked purpose having been carried out, the Jews consulting with one another about what else was to be done, taking down his lifeless body from the post, began to plot what they should do with it. Many proposed that it should be thrown into the draught-house as if to increase the shame and disgrace; but some of the more crafty ones thought that it ought to be hidden in the ground, lest the Christians by some means or other should succeed in finding it. But the dispensation of the divine mercy, which provided that so illustrious a martyr should be made known to posterity, neither allowed him to be flung into an unclean place nor be hidden in the earth. Therefore by the divine purpose disposing the matter, it came to pass that while they were in doubt and quite uncertain what they should do, they all came to an agreement that till they could think the matter out more carefully they should keep him for awhile in some secret place. But the next day at dawn they came together again to settle the business;

[1] In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 1144, on Wednesday, 22nd day of March. [Marginal note in the MS., *prima manu.*]

die ad prelibatum iterum conueniunt negotium et, sicut ab aliquo eorum postmodum didicimus, illis quidem satis super eo pertractantibus, et quid agerent prorsus adhuc ignorantibus, quidam qui inter ipsos maioris erat auctoritatis, diuino ipsum inspirante et impellente nutu, tale eis fertur dedisse consilium: Audite me, fratres, dominice legis [imitatores] emulatores; nobis per omnia inutile fore censeo et periculum postmodum affuturum pertimesco, si huius christiani corpus uel cloacis nostris demergatur siue sub tellure infra hospitiorum nostrorum recondatur ambitum. Cum etenim precio comparatis maneamus hospiciis, si infra mensem uel citius noua aliqua insurgente causa his omissis ad alia transeamus, omnia que discessum nostrum consequi possunt nimis uereor, et que maxime timeo nisi contingant uehementer admirabor. Discedentibus nempe nobis subintrantes christiani uniuersa profecto scrutabuntur, et tunc quis non credat eos uel cloacas in obprobrium nostrum purgare, uel impletis ueteribus nouas quo libuerit loco effodere? Quid ergo? Contingens est et facile a purgantibus siue a fodientibus corpus inueniri. Quo inuento, nequaquam christianis factum imputabitur, sed totius facti crimen in nos nimirum transfundetur. Non enim uerisimile uidetur quod aut christiani de christiano, aut iudei talia fieri aliquatenus

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and—as we learnt afterwards from one of them—while they were discussing and still quite undecided what they should do, one of them who was of great authority among them—a divine impulse inspiring and impelling him—is reported to have given his advice thus: "Hearken unto me, brethren zealous for the divine law. I think it would be quite useless for us, and I fear it would be perilous hereafter, if this Christian's carcase were to be flung into our cesspool or buried in the ground on our premises. For since we are living in hired houses, if within a month or less we are forced for some reason to leave these premises and go elsewhere, I am very much afraid—and I shall be very much surprised if it does not turn out so—of what must follow upon our departure. For, as sure as we go, the Christians when they come in will certainly examine everything: and then who can believe that they will not, to shame us, clear out our cesspools, or, filling up the old sewers, dig new ones? And what then? The probability is that the body will be easily found, whether the sewers are cleaned out or new ones dug. And if the body be found the deed will surely not be attributed to Christians, but the guilt of the whole business will be laid upon us beyond a doubt, for it will not seem probable that Christians would have wished to do this kind of thing to a Christian, or Jews to do

uoluissent de iudeo. Quid itaque inter hec restat medium nisi rei geste ueritas et ueritatis aperte inditium ad omnium nostrum communis periculi detrimentum? Profecto improuidentie nostre, culpa non immerito genus nostrum tunc ab Anglie partibus funditus exterminabitur; immo et, quod nobis magis uerendum est, nos et uxores ac paruuli barbaris trademur in predam, rapiemur ad mortem, dabimur in exterminium, et erit nomen nostrum cunctis obprobrium gentibus in eternum. Ad euitandos igitur tot imminentium malorum incursus prudentiori nobis prouidendum est consilio, et alia quam preuidimus gradiendum uia. Cauete inquam uobis, et nostris adquiescite <co>nsiliis. Cum res gesta sit, et quod factum est non fieri non possit, precipue preuidendum quatinus et christianos actio lateat et quod ueremur non contingat. Quid multa? Asportandum est, inquam, corpus, et in aliquo longius a nobis loco exponendum ubi, si forte inueniatur, pro murdro, ut ita dicam, christiani illud habeant. Cumque murdri sermo circumcirca percrebuerit, non dubium est quin regie iustitie exactores ad lucrandum uoluntarii ambiciosas aures falso facile adhibeant rumori. Tunc siquidem relata culpa in christianos, nos in posterum reddet securos. Cessante eo loqui

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it to a Jew. What then is likely to come out but the truth of the matter? and the detection of the truth will bring a very extreme peril upon us all. Indeed, through the fault of our imprudence, and not undeservedly, our race will be utterly driven out from all parts of England, and—which is even more to be dreaded—we, our wives and our little ones will be given over as a prey to the barbarians, we shall be delivered up to death, we shall be exterminated, and our name will become a reproach to all people for ever. We ought therefore to take counsel warily for averting the approach of so many threatening mischiefs, and we must enter upon a different course from that which we have thought of. Look to yourselves then, say I, and acquiesce in my advice. Since the facts are as they are, and what is done cannot be undone, the first thing is to take measures whereby the matter may be concealed from the Christians, and so that may not happen which we fear. Briefly I say that the body must be put away from us and be exposed in some place a long way off from us, so that if it be found the Christians may think it a case of murder; and if the talk of a murder becomes bruited abroad there is no doubt that the officers of the king's justices, eager for gain, will readily open their ears to the false rumour. Then, since the blame will be laid upon the Christians, it will make us safe."

itaque placuit sermo uniuersis et propositum sub fine consilium. Nec mora; corpus rapitur et in secretiori quo libuit loco delatum diligentissime interdum occulitur, ut occulte cum negotii exequendi se immerseret oportunitas efferatur. Dies ille dies absolutionis erat, quo totius episcopii cateruatim penitentiales ad matrem ecclesiam Norwicensem conuenire consueuerant, et tocius tunc ciuitatis platee ambulantium plus solito frequentabantur multitudine. Quare securum non estimabant si eo die facerent quod de corpore facere proposuerant. In crastinum ergo dilatum est negotium, que dies scilicet foret eis ad ambulandum oportunior, et ad exeundum quo uellent ceteris multo securior.

vii. *Quomodo asportatus et in silua sit absconditus.*

ILLVXIT dies crastina, que ubicumque christiana floret religio crucis tunc adorande uenerabilis est sacramento. Hac quippe omnibus christianis mos est plus solito gule parcendo ab omnibus delitiis et uoluptatibus abstinere et ecclesias sanctorum deuote circueundo piis orationum studiis diligentius insistere. Sub huius igitur lucis aurora a Deus-adiuuet et quodam alio, iudeis ad id die

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When he ceased speaking the speech pleased all present, and the final proposition was adopted. The body was at once removed and carried to a secret place and carefully hidden for the time, that when the opportunity for getting rid of it should occur it might be taken away. That day was the Absolution day, on which the penitents of the whole diocese were accustomed to assemble in crowds in the Mother Church at Norwich, and the streets of the whole city were crowded with an unusual multitude of people walking about. So they did not think it safe to deal with the body on that day as they had proposed; but put the business off to the next day as being more convenient for them and much safer for them for setting out and walking to any place they wished to reach.

vii. *How he was carried out and hidden in the wood.*

The morrow dawned, when everywhere the Christian religion specially celebrates a day of solemnity by reason of the sacramental rite of the adoration of the cross [*i.e.* Good Friday]. On that day it is the custom among all Christians with sparing diet to abstain from all amusements and pleasures, and while going round the churches of the Saints to be diligently engaged in devout attendance at the prayers. At daylight therefore on this day the Jews who had been chosen the day before, namely, *May-God-aid* [*i.e. Eleazar*] and another, tied up the

hesterna preordinatis, beati Willelmi martŷris corpus sacco inclusum effertur. Quibus cum corpore ciuitatem egressis et siluam de Torp iam subintrantibus, obuius forte factus est burgensis quidam inter precipuos quidem Norwici et ditissimos annotatus, Æluerdus scilicet cognomento Ded. Qui ea nocte uisitatis que in urbe sunt ecclesiis tandem de sancta Maria Magdalene que infirmorum est sub memorata silua commanentium cum solo famulo secus extremos silue fines ad sanctum iturus Leonardum redibat. Quod diuina contigit dispensante gratia, et ut testis legitimus interueniret, et inuento postmodum corpore christianos res gesta minime lateret. Eiluerdus itaque transeuntibus iudeis superueniens et iudeos quidem agnouit, sed quid alter eorum ante se super equi collum sic asportaret dubitauit. Porro dubitante eo et secum reuoluente quid negotii a transeuntibus tractaretur, quidque esse posset quod asportari uidebatur, siue quia die qua iudei domibus egredi non consueuerant et ipsi tunc longius egressi cernerentur, paulisper gradum continuit, et quo tenderent inquisiuit. Propius uero accedens et manus initiens quod ferebatur dextera quidem tetigit et humanum esse corpus deprehendit. Illi

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body of the blessed martyr William in a sack and carried it out. And when they had got out of the city with the body, and were just upon entering Thorpe Wood, it chanced that a certain citizen of Norwich, and he one of the most eminent and richest of the citizens, met them. His Christian name was Ælward and his surname was Ded. He, after visiting all the churches in the city during the previous night, was returning from the church of St Mary Magdalene, which is the church of the sick folk whose abode is near the aforesaid wood, and was making his way with a single servant to St Leonard's Church, along the edge of the wood. This happened by the ordaining of God's grace and in order that a lawful witness might be forthcoming, so that when the body was afterwards discovered the matter might not be concealed from the Christians. So Ælward, coming upon the Jews as they were going along, recognised them, but could not tell what it was that one of them was carrying before him on his horse's neck. However, being in doubt, and considering with himself what the passers by were about and what it could possibly be which they were carrying with them, and why they should have gone so far from home on a day when it was not the custom for the Jews to leave their houses, he halted for a moment and asked them where they were going. Then, going nearer and laying hands thereupon he touched what they were carrying with

uero, se deprehensos expauescentes et pre stupore nichil habentes quid dicerent, admissis equis transierunt et silue densitatem ingressi sunt. Qua de re nimirum mali suspicio Eluerdi mentem pulsauit, sed ad uiam quam pio deuotionis aggressus erat studio animum retorsit. Interea iudei hispidam ac dumosam silue subeuntes densitatem corpus elatum arbori linea cordella suspenderunt, eque ibi relicto domum altera regressi sunt uia. Quibus, non modico terrore perculsis et ad omnes occursus nouum parturientibus horrorem, id estimo contigisse quod ualde timidis et alicuius culpe sibi conscii solet euenire. Qui etenim huiusmodi sunt omnes occursus suspectos habent, ubique adesse insidias putant, truncos etiam et lapides eminus uisos homines estimant. Quid multa? Regressi iudei infortunium quod ex itinere sibi contigerat ceteris enarrant.

viii. *Quod datis centum marcis uicecomiti a timore liberati sunt.*

ANIMO plurimum consternati christiani nominis hostes quid faciant prorsus ignorant. Spe siquidem destituti, dum alius

his right hand and he found it was a human body. But they, frightened at having been discovered and in their terror not having anything to say, made off at full gallop and rushed into the thick of the wood. Whereupon a suspicion of some mischief suggested itself to the mind of Elward; yet he recalled his thoughts to the road which he had been pursuing when he was engaged in his devotional employment.

Meanwhile the Jews, picking their way through the tangled thickets of the wood, hung the body by a thin flaxen cord to a tree and left it there, and then returned home by another path. And because they were extremely terrified and conceived new fears at every meeting with any one that they saw, I conjecture that that happened to them which is usually the case with very timid people who are conscious of guilt. For they who are in such a case look with suspicion at everybody that comes in their way, and they see pitfalls everywhere, and they suppose that the stones and trees in the distance are men. At any rate the Jews when they got back told the others the mishap that had occurred to them on the road.

viii. *How by giving a hundred marcs to the Sheriff they were rid of their fear.*

The enemies of the Christians, being very much alarmed, were quite at a loss what course to take. And in despair, while one was suggesting

sic et alius aliter de salute communi deliberant, ad Iohannem tandem uicecomitem, solitum sibi asilum, tanquam ad unicum et singulare presidium festinare decernunt. Omnium itaque consilio actum est ut quidam qui ceteros auctoritate preminebant et potentia ad ipsum euntes ita cum ipso agerent quatinus eius fulti patrocinio postmodum nil timerent. Vadunt illi, castelli munitionem subeunt, et presentie uicecomitis admittuntur. Cui se maximum quoddam habere secretum aiunt, quod illi soli secretius communicare uelint. Nec mora, amotis omnibus qui aderant, iubet Iohannes ut uelle suum protinus edicant. Et illi: Ecce in magna perturbatione positi sumus, de qua si ope uestra liberemur centum uobis marcas promittimus. Marcarum ille numero delectatus promittit se et secretum celare eisque opem suam pro uiribus in aliquo non defuturam. Reuelato itaque secreti tanti negotio confestim Æiluerdus accersitur. Qui ubi aduenit, iubente statim immo et cogente uicecomite, uelit nolit fide et iuramento constrictus est quod iudeos super uisis non infamaret neque uisa uita comite, uel saltem usque ad extremum uite sue diem, detegeret. Diuine uero gratie dispensatio nequa-

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this and another that measure for their common safety, they determined at last to make advances to John the Sheriff, who had been wont to be their refuge and their one and only protector. So by common consent it was arranged that certain of them who were their chief men in influence and power should go to him and deal with him so that, supported by his authority, they should hereafter have no cause for alarm. So they went and passing within the castle walls, were admitted to the presence of the sheriff; and they said that they had a great secret to divulge and wished to communicate secretly with him alone. Straightway, when all who were present had withdrawn, John bade them forthwith to speak out what they wanted, and they replied, "Look you, we are placed in a position of great anxiety, and if you can help us out of it, we promise you a hundred marcs." He, delighted at the number of marcs, promised that he would both keep close their secret and that, according to his power, he would not fail to give them his support on any occasion.

Accordingly, when the great secret had been revealed, Ælward was hastily summoned, and on his appearance he was immediately ordered and compelled by the Sheriff, nay, forced, whether he would or no, to take an oath that he would lay no information against the Jews nor divulge what he had seen during his lifetime, or at any rate till he himself was at the point of death. But the ordering of the divine

quam semper tegi uoluit quod in laudem egregii martyris sui et gloriam, quodque ad iterandam passionis sue memoriam in proximo postmodum multipliciter reuelandum disposuit. Euolutis etenim annis quinque idem Æiluerdus infirmitate correptus ad extremum deductus est. Sub ultima uero exitus sui hora ab ipso sacro puero Willelmo, iam tunc per totam circumquaque prouintiam crebris miraculorum uirtutibus clarescente, per uisum ammonitus est ut que uiderat quibus uellet reuelandum non negligeret. Euocatis ita ad se quibusdam quos tanti secreti reuelatione dignos estimabat, Wichemanno scilicet monacho cui in consulendis penitentibus suas episcopus uices commiserat, et presbitero de sancto Nicholao, tandem moriens atque inter ultima laborans uerba iuxta memorati martyris preceptum quod de ipso uiderat ac postmodum pro certo cognouerat eis ex ordine protestatus est. Quod ego Thomas monachus Norwicensis, eisdem referentibus audiens et reuera uerum esse cognoscens, scripto tradere curaui, quoniam tante ueritatis argumentum pretereundum siue silentio tegendum non duxi.

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goodness by no means suffered that to be hidden which He determined should be made manifest in many ways to the praise of His illustrious martyr and to the keeping alive the memory of His own passion in the after time.

Accordingly, when five years had gone by, this Ælward, overtaken by infirmity, was brought near his end. But as his last hour was drawing near, he was admonished in a vision by the holy boy, William himself (who was already now becoming very famous throughout the whole province by his many mighty works), not to neglect the making known to whomsoever he pleased the things which he had seen. So, having invited to his bedside certain persons whom he thought worthy to receive the revelation of so great a secret, namely Wicheman, a monk to whom the Bishop had committed his faculties for receiving the confessions of penitents and.....[1] priest of St Nicholas, at last on his death-bed, and almost with his last words, in obedience to the martyr's command, he set forth in order what he had first seen and afterwards had got to know was certainly true.

All which I, Thomas, a monk of Norwich, after hearing it from their lips and knowing it to be certainly true, have been careful to hand down in writing, because I did not think that the story of so important a truth ought to be lost or concealed by silence.

[1] Blank in MS.

ix. *Qualiter super corpus eius lux de celo fulsit in modum ignee scale.*

HIS intra urbem gestis, ipsa eadem die, feria sexta scilicet ante resurrectionis dominice pascha, diuina gratia que seruis suis nusquam absens est circa corpus gloriosi martyris in nemore iacentis gloriosa dignata est pietatis sue ostendere inditia. Circa eiusdem etenim diei uesperam ignea de celo desuper lux subito emicuit, que usque ad memorati corporis locum tractim se porrigens oculis plurimorum diuersis existentium locis effulsit. Vidit quippe illam Henricus de Sprowestune, Ebrardi episcopi olim stabularius, in domus sue hostio cum tota stans familia; uidit quoque et domina Legarda Willelmi Apuli quondam uxor cum suis, que pro dei amore apud sanctam Mariam Magdalenam manet <infirmis> seruiens talibusque obsequiis anime sue salutem mendicans. Sed et eiusdem loci infirmi nocte ipsa medio noctis silentio ad nocturnale surgentes offitium, memorata premonstrante Legarda, lucis eiusdem uidere fulgorem. Nonnulli quoque eorum aiunt splendorem illum etiam mane sacri scilicet sabbati ante solis

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ix. *How over his body there gleamed a light from heaven like unto a ladder of fire.*

Whilst these things were going on in the city, on the very same day, that is the Friday before the sacred feast of the resurrection of the Lord, the divine grace, which is never absent from His own, vouchsafed to exhibit round about the body of the glorious martyr, which was lying in the wood, certain glorious testimonies of His pity. For towards evening of that same day a fiery light suddenly flashed down from heaven, the which, extending in a long train as far as the place where the aforesaid body was, blazed in the eyes of many people who were in various places thereabouts. Particularly Henry de Sprowston, formerly the keeper of the stable to Eborard, Bishop of Norwich, saw it as he was standing at the door of his house with all his family; and the lady Legarda, formerly wife of William of Apulia[1] with her attendants saw it too, she who for the love of God has her dwelling hard by St Mary Magdalen's [church], attending upon the sick, and engaged in such services lives as a beggar for the salvation of her soul. But the sick people of that place in the same night, as they were getting up for the midnight office in the silence of the night, when Legarda showed it them, saw the brightness of that same light. Indeed some of them say that even on the morning of Holy Saturday the brightness was apparent to them as they gazed until the

[1] Blomefield, v. 176.

ortum suis apparuisse conspectibus. Videbatur autem lux illa in duos diuisa radios scale longissime tenere formam ab imo se in altum porrigentis ad orientem. Quia, sicut qui primi corpus sub diuo silua iacens inuenerunt testati sunt, alterum radiorum ad capud atque alterum ad pedes usque porrigebatur. Quid autem aliud fidelibus suis gratia diuina in hoc designare uoluit, nisi quia cunctis patenti inditio notificare curauit quanti meriti esset quem signis celestibus adeo glorificaret? In scale quippe forma ascensus innuitur ad gloriam, in splendore uero lucis meritum denotatur ad coronam.

x. *Quomodo et a quibus sit inuentus.*

PASCHALI quippe illucescente <sabba>to monialis illa de qua paulo ante memini Legarda de tam mire lucis uisione ualde sollicita, assumptis quibusdam secum cohabitantibus, mane ante solis ortum ad aspectum luminis iter arripit, quid sit scire uolens quod talibus indiciis dominus declarare uelit. Gradiens uero corporis oculos exterius figebat in lumine, sed pie deuotionis lumen interius radiabat in mente. Ibat mulier deuote deo supplicans ut ad uise lucis locum recto itinere gressum eius dirigat,

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rising of the sun. Moreover that light seemed to divide into two rays, which took the shape of a very long ladder, extending from below into the sky to the eastward. And, as they who first found the body lying in the open air in the wood testified, one of these rays stretched as far as his feet and the other to his head. What else did the divine grace wish to signify to His faithful ones herein but that it was His pleasure to declare, by an evident token to all, how great was his merit whom He was so glorifying by signs from heaven? For under the form of a ladder is typified his ascent to glory, but by the brightness of the light is declared his deserving of the crown.

x. *How he was discovered and by whom.*

As the Easter Saturday began to dawn, the nun of whom I have made mention, Legarda, much disturbed by the vision of the strange light, taking with her some who dwelt with her, before the sun rose made her way to where the appearance of the light was, anxious to know what the meaning of it was and what the Lord desired to make manifest by such tokens as these. But as she walked on she fixed her outer bodily eyes upon the light, but the light of a divine illumination sent forth its beams in her mind. The woman went on, devoutly praying to God that He would direct her steps in the right direction to

latensque ibi sacramentum sibi manifestius ostendat. Nec mora, diuine miserationis ductu per hispidam arbusculorum densitatem eo cum suis uenire meruit ubi egregium illum thesaurum reuera meritorum diuiciis affluentem inuenit. Intuens uero eminus ad radicem quercus iacentem puerum, tunicatum, calciatum, capite rasum, et puncturis innumeris aporiatum: sed femineo correpta timore statim propius accedere non presumpsit. Dumque intenta cordis acie iacentis contemplaretur qualitatem, duos aspexit super illum coruos, qui coruine uoracitatis rabiem explere gestientes rostro eum discerpere certatim attemptabant, sed nullatenus tangere neque se sustinere ualentes, hinc et inde a latere cadebant. Sed et iterum atque iterum id ipsum alternis uicibus attemptantes, nec in aliquo preualentes, deorsum a latere assidue ruebant. Et reuera, sicut reor, bestiali sensualitate cadauer credebant sibi fortuitu esse oblatum, quod suis laniandum rorstris more solito foret permissum. Quem uero prouidentia diuina illesum et incorruptum seruare preuiderat, auibus et feris intactum esse uolebat. Videns denique mulier mira ac ualde stupenda que circa corpus

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the spot where the light had been seen, and show her plainly the mystery that lay hid there. And soon by the leading of the divine mercy through the dense tangles of the bushes she with her friends was allowed to reach the place where she found that great treasure in very truth filled with the riches of goodness. And as she looked—lo! at the root of an oak there lay a boy, dressed in his jacket and shoes, his head shaved, and punctured with countless stabs. But, struck with a womanly fear, for a while she did not dare to approach nearer. And while with a beating heart she wondered upon the strangeness of the form that lay there, she saw two ravens alighting upon him that were trying to satisfy the greed of their corvine voracity, and were attempting to tear him to pieces with their beaks. But they were wholly unable to touch him or to settle upon him, but kept falling off him on this side and on that. Yet again and again, first on one side and then on the other, they tried and never could succeed, but they kept on continually dropping down beside him. And in truth, as I think, with their animal stupidity they thought that the dead body was a chance find and that it was all right for them after their habit to rend it with their beaks. But whom the providence of God had determined should remain unmutilated and uncorrupted, him birds and beasts could not avail to touch. At last the woman, seeing the wonderful and astounding things which were marvellously going on around the dead body, began to understand that he who lay there was certainly a

iacentis mirifice gerebantur, plurimi quidem esse meriti iacentem agnouit, qui et coruis intactus et celesti lumine declaratus plurimorum uisibus apparuit. Nec mora, uirili resumpto animo propius accessit, coruos expulit, et oratione facta illum conseruatori suo commendans cum sodalibus domum gratulabunda regreditur.

xi. *Item inuentio altera.*

EODEM quoque Sabbato post solis ortum prefatus de Sprowestune Henricus, quia forestarius erat, ascenso equo perscrutandi gratia siluam intrauit, si forte quempiam inuenire potuisset qui aliquid sine licentia cedendo silue dampnum inferret. Eoque siue fortuna siue uoluntas, quod magis credo, diuina gradientis animum trahebat quo chorusce lucis radiasse radios hesterna die perspexerat. Dumque huc et illuc ea parte silue graderetur, subito hominem cedentem repperit, qui se ibi in proximo puerum occisum inuenisse dixit. Vadens itaque illuc duce rustico Henricus puerum quidem repperit, sed quis uel unde esset non agnouit. Cumque eum intentius consideraret, si forte cognosci potuisset, deprehendit uulneratum, ligneumque uidit

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person of extraordinary merit, in that he was untouched by the crows and had been pointed out to the eyes of many by the heavenly light. It was not long before, having recovered her presence of mind, she approached, drove away the crows, and, after offering up a prayer and commending him over to the care of his Saviour, she returned home with her companions rejoicing.

xi. *How he was found a second time.*

On that same Saturday, after sunrise, Henry de Sprowston, whom I mentioned before—the forester,—mounting his horse went into the wood to see if he could find anyone who might be doing mischief by cutting down anything in the wood without license. And it came to pass that either chance or, as I rather believe, the divine will inclined his mind as he went along towards the place where he had seen the beams of the bright light gleaming on the day before: and while he was passing hither and thither in that part of the wood, suddenly he observed a man cutting wood who said that he had discovered there hard by a boy who had been slain. Whereupon, going with the peasant as his guide, Henry found the boy, but who he was or how he had got there he could not understand. But when he had looked at him very carefully to find out if by any chance he knew him, he perceived that he had been wounded, and he noticed the wooden torture in his mouth;

in ore tormentum. Inusitatis uero attrectatum penis conspiciens ex ipso penarum modo suspicari nimirum iam cepit, quoniam non christianus sed reuera iudeus fuerit qui eiusmodi innocentem tam temerario <ausu> mactare presumpsit. Porro locum diligenter intuitus, celique regionem denotans, pro certo cognouit quoniam isdem locus esset quo lucis hesterne radios choruscasse et in altum porrigi conspexisset. Quid ergo? His nimirum cum multa admiratione contemplatis regreditur Henricus, et que uisu cognouerat uniuersa uxori ac familie enarrat. Euocato denique presbitero, cuiusdam innocentis corpus crudelissimis attrectatum modis silua expositum denuntiat ac repertum, quod et inde plurimum cupiat auferre atque in cimiterio ecclesie de Sprowestuna, si ipse consulat, sepelire. Dumque circa huiusmodi sollicitius deliberant actionem, ad id uentum est consilii, ut quia paschalis crastino imminebat sollennitas dispositionis sue propositum in diem tertium differant, quo deuotionis sue affectum ad effectum congruentius perducant.

xii. *Qualiter in nemore sepultus sit.*

DIFFERTUR itaque sepeliendi negotium: sed interim his atque illis ad alios et alios rei formam referentibus, huiusmodi

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and becoming aware that he had been treated with unusual cruelty, he now began to suspect, from the manner of his treatment, that it was no Christian but in very truth a Jew who had ventured to slaughter an innocent child of this kind with such horrible barbarity. So, observing the place very carefully and taking note of the outlook, he became certain that this was the same place where on the day before he had seen the rays of light gleaming and flashing upwards. Accordingly, when he had pondered over these things with much wondering, Henry went back and told his wife and all his household all he had seen. Then summoning a priest he announced to him that the body of a little innocent who had been treated in the most cruel manner had been discovered exposed in the wood, and that he very much wished to take it away from there and, if the priest approved, to bury it in the churchyard of Sprowston. After very earnestly deliberating about the carrying out of this intention, they came to the conclusion that, inasmuch as the festival of Easter was coming next day, they should defer their arrangement till the third day and so carry into effect their devout intention more fittingly.

xii. *How he was buried in the wood.*

So the business of burying him was put off. But in the meantime by one man after another telling others their several versions of the

rumor circumquaque personuit, urbemque ingrediens audientium pectora plurimo stupore concussit. Concutitur nouo tumultu ciuitas, replentur tumultuantibus platee; iamque a quamplurimis non nisi iudeos eo maxime tempore talia gessisse asseritur. Stabant siquidem nonnulli tanquam de noua et re insolita attoniti; discurrebant plurimi sed maxime pueri ac iuuenes, et diuino eos trahente nutu, uisendi gratia ad siluam cateruatim properabant. Querunt siquidem et inueniunt, penarumque signis in eo deprehensis, ac rei geste modo diligentius considerato, eius rei reatu iudeos non immunes quidam autumant; nonnulli uero quodam reuera presagio impulsi sic esse affirmant. Regredientibus illis, qui domi remanserant globatim accurrunt, remque ut erat audientes uidere properant et ad ipsum ceteris testificantur dum redeunt. Ita itaque toto sabbato totoque paschali die eundi ac redeundi alternatis et frequentatis uicibus undique ciuitas circa huiusmodi tota detinetur, singulique super tam insolite rei euentu non sine admiratione sollicitantur. Vnde pii feruoris zelus in iudeorum exitium uniuersos incitabat; iam iamque manus iniecissent nisi

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story the rumour got spread in all directions, and when it reached the city it struck the heart of all who heard it with exceeding horror. The city was stirred with a strange excitement, the streets were crowded with people making disturbance: and already it was asserted by the greater part of them that it could only have been the Jews who would have wrought such a deed, especially at such a time. And so some were standing about as if amazed by the new and extraordinary affair; many were running hither and thither, but especially the boys and the young men; and, a divine impulse drawing them on, they rushed in crowds to the wood to see the sight. What they sought they found; and, on detecting the marks of the torture in the body, and carefully looking into the method of the act, some suspected that the Jews were not guiltless of the deed; but some, led on by what was really a divine discernment, protested that it was so. When these returned, they who had stayed at home got together in groups, and when they heard how the case stood, they too hurried to the sight, and on their return they bore their testimony to the same effect. And thus all through the Saturday and all through Easter day all the city everywhere was occupied in going backwards and forwards time after time, and everybody was in excitement and astonishment at the extraordinary event.

And so the earnestness of their devout fervour was urging all to destroy the Jews, and they would there and then have laid hands upon

uicecomitis Iohannis timore repressi ad tempus siluissent. Dumque intra urbem per biduum huiuscemodi res gereretur, memoratus de Sprowestuna Henricus cum uxore et familia post dominicum pascha feria secunda propositum executurus, circa horam diei primam properat quo inclita illa martiris egregii gleba adhuc sub diuo iacebat. Nactus uero cum suis locum, diuino ut reor instinctu permonitus, aliter quam disposuerat faciendum adiudicauit, quoniam sine episcopi licentia propositum exequi pertimescebat. Deliberatiuo utique usus consilio, cum quanta reuerentia potuit corpus eo quo inuentum est loco tumulauit. Sed nec silendum iudico quia, dum tumulantium baiularetur manibus, subito tanti odoris fragrantia naribus se infuderit assistentium, ceu multa inibi herbarum ac florum redolentium redundaret affluentia. Neque sine diuina dispositione actum esse reor ut ibi eum tumulari contingeret unde ad maiorem uenerationem libere postmodum transferretur, ac licet translatum plurimis tamen uirtutum insigniis ibidem eum clarescere diuina gratia uoluisset.

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them but that restrained by fear of the Sheriff John they kept quiet for awhile.

While things were going on in this way for two days in the city, the afore-mentioned Henry de Sprowston, with his wife and family, on the Monday after Easter Sunday got ready to carry out his intention, and hastened, about the first hour of the day, to where the blessed martyr's body was still lying in the open air. But when he got to the place, forewarned by a divine impulse as I think, he decided that he must take another course than he had intended, because he was afraid to carry out his intention without the Bishop's license. Accordingly with all reverence he adopted another plan and buried the body in the place where it had been found.

But this fact I think ought to be mentioned, that while the body was being carried by the hands of those who were going to bury it, suddenly such a fragrant perfume filled the nostrils of the bystanders as if there had been growing there a great mass of sweet-smelling herbs and flowers. And I do not think that it was without the divine disposal that the burial happened to take place there, to the intent that afterwards the body might be removed for greater veneration, and though he was translated, yet in this place too the divine favour wished to make him illustrious by many tokens of his virtues.

xiii. *Qualiter Godwinus presbiter an ipse sit scire studuerit.*

TUMULATO siquidem incliti martiris corpore, per quosdam eius quondam consocios puerum Willelmum qui iudeos diebus preteritis frequentare solebat ipsum esse fama promulgauit, tandemque ad aures Godwini presbiteri cognomento Sturt, qui materteram eius habebat, eius rei noticia peruenit. Quod ubi per consocios eius pro certo didicit, cum filio suo Alexandro tunc diacono et Roberto fratre martiris die sequenti illuc pergere curauit, primo quidem ut si ipse esset certius cognosceret, cognitoque exequiarum obsequium deinceps exhiberet. Verum quia cognosci non poterat nisi superposita tellus exponeretur, fodiendum statuerunt. Fodientibus itaque illis et terram exponentibus cum iam corpori proximarent subito contra faciem eius aperte uisa est terra uelut forti quodam impetu de infra sulleuari, et sulleuata quasi repelli. Quo uiso confestim horror non modicus ac stupor pectora peruasit fodientium: unde retro cedentes ab incepto destiterunt. Sed reuocante eos presbitero cum sanguine resumpserunt animum, atque opus denuo aggrediuntur intermissum.

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xiii. *How the Priest Godwin gave heed to know whether it were he himself.*

When the illustrious martyr's body was buried the report got abroad through certain boys who had been his companions formerly, that this body was the body of William who formerly used to have dealings with the Jews, and at last the news came to the ears of Godwin the Priest, whose surname was Sturt, and who had (as his wife) the martyr's aunt.

And when he learnt from the martyr's companions that it really was so, he took care the next day to visit the place with his son Alexander, then a deacon, and with Robert the martyr's brother; first in order to make sure if it were he himself, and also, if he were recognised, that he might straightway perform the obsequies. But because he could not be recognised till the earth that was laid upon him had been removed, they determined to dig him up. However, while they were digging and throwing out the earth, when they got near the body—suddenly the earth before their very eyes seemed by some strong force to be lifted up from below and as it were to be thrown out. At which sight immediately a great horror and amazement thrilled the hearts of the diggers, and falling back they desisted from their undertaking. But on the priest calling them back they took courage, and again set themselves to the work that they had left. But

Dumque simili secundo ut prius modo contingeret, uidebatur nimirum eis quia nondum mortuus sed uiuus esset. Vnde presbiter exclamans festinare precipit, quoniam et adhuc uiuentem inuenire credit. Illis itaque certatim properantibus cum iam palmis corpus tangerent, excusso puluere facies discooperitur, et quis fuerit plane dinoscitur. Cognoscit frater fratrem et amici agnoscunt amicum. Fratrem frater luget mortuum; amici plangunt occisum. Qui quo amplius uiuentem dilexerant, eo et amplius occiso condolent. Dumque propius accederent, uehementer admirantur quod quamuis tot dies a die qua mortis eius suspicabantur iam pertransissent, nil in eo prorsus mali odoris sentiretur. Id autem maiori dignum admiratione ibidem tunc contigisse compertum est, quod scilicet ubi nullus flos nullaque odorifera creuerat uel aderat herba, ibi naribus assistentium uernalis florum herbarumque redolentium aspirabat fragrantia. Quid multa? Exequiis tandem celebratis, terram effossam et expositam loco suo denuo reposuerunt, deoque corpus et animam commendantes regressi sunt.

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when the same thing happened again the same way as before, no wonder that it seemed to them that here was one who was not yet dead but alive. Whereupon the priest bade them make haste, for he believed that he would find him still alive; and they making all the speed they could, when now they were almost touching the body with their hands—on the soil being removed the face was exposed, and it was plainly shown whose it was. Brother recognised brother and friends their friend. Brother wept for his brother dead and friends bewailed their murdered friend. The more they had loved him living, so much the more did they grieve that he had been slain. And when they drew near they were greatly astonished because, though so many days had passed by since the time when they suspected he had been put to death, yet there was absolutely no bad smell perceptible. But what seemed more deserving their wonder was—that though there was never a flower there nor any sweet-smelling herb growing thereabout—yet there the perfume of spring flowers and fragrant herbs was wafted to the nostrils of all present. At last having celebrated the obsequies they replaced the earth that had been dug up and disturbed, and commending the soul and body to God they went their way.

xiv. *De presagio uisionis matertere illius.*

VENIENS domum Godwinus presbiter uxori sue Livive, que pueri quidem matertera fuerat, rem ut gesta est enarrat. Illa statim complosis palmis in maximum prorumpens eiulatum: Verum est, inquit, et nimis reuera uerum sompnium meum, quod sabbato ante pascha florum uidisse me contigit, quo dominus certissimam euentus huius veritatem mihi licet ignare dignanter preostendere curauit. Videbam etenim in uisu noctis et ecce mihi forte existenti in media fori platea, subito iudei undique accurrunt, accurrentes fugientem circumueniunt, circumuentam comprehendunt. Comprehense uero mihi, crux (*sc.* crus) dextrum fuste confractum et de reliquo corporis auellere et confestim transfugientes illud secum uidebantur asportare. O nimis uera ueri sompnii presagii! O me reuera felicem, si non uera sompnia sompniassem, et te quidem, domine mi, mihi hoc ipsum sompnium ad tuam audientiam referenti dixisse recordor quoniam de amicis quempiam me nouiter contingeret per iudeos amittere, quem plurimum pre ceteris me constaret dilexisse! Ecce quod predixisti iam sentio; ecce quemadmodum ad futurum prenuntiasti haud

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xiv. *Concerning the warning to his Aunt in a vision.*

When the priest Godwin got home he related to his wife Liviva—who was the boy's aunt—exactly what had happened. She immediately clapping her hands and breaking out into loud cries, "It is true" said she "and my dream was only too true, which came to me on the "Saturday before Palm Sunday, when the Lord was pleased plainly to "reveal to me—ignorant though I be—the most certain truth of this "business. I saw in a vision of the night and lo!, as I was standing "in the High Street of the Market Place, suddenly the Jews came upon "me running up from all sides, and they surrounded me as I fled and "they seized me. And as they held me they broke my right leg with "a club and they tore it away from the rest of my body, and running "off with all speed it seemed that they were carrying it away with "them. O only too true forewarning of my vision! O happy should "I be if it were not a true dream that I had dreamt! But in sooth, O "my Lord!, as I tell of this dream before thee who hearest me, I "declare that I heard thee say that soon it would happen to me to lose "one of my dear ones through the Jews, and one whom I certainly "loved more than all others. Lo! what thou didst foretell I feel now "has happened. Behold, exactly as thou didst foretell, it has fallen

aliter contigisse ingemisco. Vix dicta compleuerat, et medullas frigus inuasit, uultus expalluit, mens cum sanguine fugit, et tanquam exanimis inter astantium manus humi dilapsa concidit. Post modicum resumptis cum sanguine uiribus exurgit mulier, et confestim nepotem quem plurimum dilexerat in fletum erumpens deplorat. Ab illo nempe die usque in multum tempus a planctu reuocari uix potuit, quoniam ipsum plangebat quem precordialiter ac tenere diligebat.

XV. *De planctu matris.*

EISDEM quoque diebus fama diuulgante, ad aures matris de filii nece sermo peruenit, que nimirum tam flebili concussa nuncio, statim tanquam exanimis corruit. Post paulum uero resumptis uiribus surrexit, nullamque faciens dilationem, Norwicum rei ueritatem quesitura properauit. Vbi autem multorum relatu filium mortuum et in silua cognouit sepultum, continuo discerptis crinibus, palmisque in inuicem crebro connexis, flens et eiulans per plateas tanquam amens cursitabat. Tandemque ad domum sororis de qua paulo ante meminimus ueniens, tum a

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"out, to my sorrow!" She scarce had finished speaking when a cold shiver thrilled her inmost marrow, a pallor passed over her face, consciousness left her and like one dead she slipped from the hands of the bystanders and fell to the earth.

After a while the woman, recovering consciousness, rose and bursting out weeping she bewailed the nephew whom she had so greatly loved. From that day for a long while afterwards she could scarcely be restrained from her lamentations, and she kept on lamenting him whom she had so dearly and vehemently loved.

XV. *Concerning the lamentations of the Mother.*

Just at this time as the report was spreading, the story of her son's murder came to the ears of his mother who, naturally overwhelmed by the sad tidings, straightway swooned away as if she were dead. After a while however recovering herself she without delay hastened to Norwich to enquire into the truth of the matter. But when she learnt by the relation of many people that her son was dead and was buried in the wood—immediately with torn hair and clapping of hands she ran from one to another weeping and wailing through the streets like a mad woman. At last going to the house of her sister whom I men-

Godwino presbitero tum a sorore modum rei sciscitans et (ue)ritatem, nichil aliud nosse pro certo potuit, nisi quia insolito more occisus fuerit. Verunptamen ex multis et uerisimilibus coniecturarum conici argumentis cognouit quoniam non christiani sed iudei reuera essent, qui rem huiusmodi patrare ausi fuissent. Quibus illa facilitate muliebri fidem facile adhibuit; unde et statim in contumeliam iudeorum uerbo, conuitiis ac lite palam prorupit. Hinc nimirum ceu mater materno pietatis tangebatur affectu; inde tanquam mulier muliebri ac temerario ferebatur ausu. Porro quicquid animo suspicabatur iam pro certo habens, quodque ŷmaginabatur quasi uisu compertum asserens, facto per uicos et plateas discursu et materno compulsa dolore uniuersos horrendis sollicitabat clamoribus iudeosque filium dolo seductum sibi surripuisse protestabatur et occidisse. Que res maxime in suspitionem ueri uniuersorum conuertit animos, unde et omnium acclamabatur uocibus omnes radicitus debere destrui iudeos tanquam christiani nominis et cultus semper aduersarios.

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tioned before and enquiring now of the priest Godwin, now of her sister, she could learn no more about the circumstances and the truth than that he had been slain in an extraordinary way. But from many probable indications and conclusions she was convinced that they were not Christians but Jews who had dared to do the deed. With a woman's readiness of belief she easily gave credence to these conjectures. Whereupon she at once burst forth into denouncing the Jews—with words of contumely and indignation. Sometimes she behaved like a mother moved by all a mother's love, sometimes she bore herself like a woman with all a woman's passionate rashness. And so, assuming everything to be certain which she suspected and asserting it to be a fact, as though it had actually been seen—she went through the streets and open places and, carried along by her motherly distress, she kept calling upon everybody with dreadful screams, protesting that the Jews had seduced and stolen away from her her son and killed him. This conduct very greatly worked upon the minds of the populace to accept the truth, and so everybody began to cry out with one voice that all the Jews ought to be utterly destroyed as constant enemies of the Christian name and the Christian religion.

xvi. *Quomodo in sinodo presbiter Godwinus de iudeis conquestus est, eosque de morte Willelmi pueri reos esse per iuditium probare se optulit.*

EVOLUTIS autem aliquot diebus, dies sŷnodalis aderat, et de more pontifex Ebrardus sinodo presidebat. Sermone tandem celebrato, surgit e medio memoratus presbiter Godwinus lugubrem et presentibus seculis inauditam auribus episcopi et confratrum sacerdotum depositurus querimoniam. Indicto itaque omnibus silentio, in hunc modum exorsus est: Domine, pater, et presul uenerande, tua hactenus et utinam in eternum famosa dignetur pietas sue benignitatis aures nostris inclinare querulis sermonibus. Dignetur quoque confratrum et consacerdotum sacer conuentus quem presenti sinodo assistere conspicio querulos querele nostre non modice uel ad modicum aure pacienti percipere sonos. Nempe non propriam tantum siue domesticam executurus causam accessi quantum et communem omnium christianorum declarare proposui factam nouiter contumeliam. Igitur non ignotum reor paternitati uestre, presul reuerende, nec latere estimo plurimos ex uobis, fratres karissimi, puerum quendam

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xvi. *How the Priest Godwin accused the Jews and offered to prove by ordeal that they were guilty of the death of the boy William.*

When some days had passed, the day for holding the Synod drew near, and according to custom Bishop Eborard presided. The sermon having been preached, the aforesaid Priest Godwin rose, saying that he was about to bring to the ears of the Bishop and his brother priests a distressing complaint and one which had not been heard of in the present time. Wherefore, silence having been enjoined upon all, he began in the manner following:

"Very Reverend Lord and father and Bishop—May that goodness of yours which has been so notorious hitherto, and which I trust may continue to be so esteemed for all time, vouchsafe to incline your ears graciously to the words of our complaint. May the reverend assembly also of my brethren and fellow priests, whom I see before me attending at the present Synod, vouchsafe with a patient hearing to receive the utterance of my sad complaint, and receive it with no indifference. In sooth I have come forward to plead not so much a private or domestic cause as to make known to you an outrage which has been done to the whole Christian community. Indeed I think it is not unknown to your Fathership, very reverend Prelate, nor do I think it is a secret to most of you, my dear brethren, that a certain boy—a very

admodum paruulum et utique innocentem dominice passionis ebdomada miserabilibus attrectatum modis silua repertum fuisse, atque ibidem tumulatum christiana adhuc caruisse sepultura. Hic siquidem filiorum meorum consobrinus fuit, et interuenientie huiuscemodi familiaritatis gratia a me plurimum dilectus extitit. Vnde super eius nece dum apud pietatis uestre benignitatem in presentiarum conqueror, uix a lacrimis lumina continere preualeo. Huius autem tam execrabili necis reatu omnes in primis christianos tanquam immunes excuso: uerum secundo iudeos christiani nominis hostes huius rei utique reos et sanguinis innocentis effusores accuso; tercio dictorum assertionem qua hora, quo loco, quoue libuerit christiane legis iuditio probaturus accedo. Nec quisquam me in presenti negotio precipitem estimet uel ineptum, quoniam nisi preposite rei ueritate certior existerem, nequaquam ad promisse probationis executionem adeo constanter accessissem. Atque id ita esse uos ipsi conicere potestis, tum ex dierum quibus tale quid a iudeis fieri debuerit habitudine, tum ex puniendi modo et uulnerum qualitate, tum ex multimoda rerum sibi inuicem respondentium congruentia. His quoque et aliis quampluribus euidentissimis argumentorum probationibus accedat

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little boy—and a harmless innocent too—was treated in the most horrible manner in Passion Week, was found in a wood, and up to this time has been without Christian burial. He was indeed a cousin of my own children, and because of the tie of kindred which united us he was very dear to me. Wherefore, when I lay my complaint before you all concerning his death, I can hardly restrain my eyes from weeping. To begin with, from any complicity in so execrable a murder I hold all Christians excused as guiltless. But, in the second place, I accuse the Jews, the enemies of the Christian name, as the doers of this deed, and as the shedders of innocent blood. Thirdly, I am ready to prove the truth of my words at such time and place and by such proof as is allowed me by Christian law. Nor let any one consider me hasty or unwise in the present business, since, if I were not certain of the truth of the charge laid before you, I should certainly not have come forward so confidently to establish the proof I have promised. And that the facts are so you yourselves can judge, as well from the practices which the Jews are bound to carry out on the days specified, as from the manner of the punishment inflicted and the character of the wounds and the many confirmations of circumstances which agree together. To these and many other most evident proofs Leviva, the boy's aunt, must be taken into account, with her very remarkable warning vision. There

et Leviva, eius de quo agimus matertera, cum efficacissimo uisionis sue presagio: accedat et flebilis mater, que uersutissimi iudeorum nuntii fraudibus dolosis et se circumuentam ac seductam filiumque abductum deplorat. Hec itaque cum ita pro certo se habeant, *meaque res agitur paries cum <pro>ximus ardet*, ad uos tanquam ad unicum et singulare mihi presidium presentem depositurus querimoniam eo fiducialius recurro quo uos a iuris uel equi legibus nequaquam exorbitaturos mente certiori concipio. His ita presbiter peroratis finem dictis imponens siluit, et episcopale super hoc responsum arrectis auribus, oculis in terram defixis, et mente suspensa expectauit. Turbatis itaque et attonitis super hac re uniuersis, presulem hinc atrocitate facti commotum, inde iusticie zelo succensum, presbitero in hunc modum respondisse aiunt: Quoniam que tu certa asseris nobis adhuc incerta esse liquet, profecto tamen ad certam huius rei consequendam notitiam elaborare curabimus. Et siquando ut astruis ita esse constiterit, pro certo teneas quod iusticie nostre rigor nullatenus exorbitabit. Veruntamen, quoniam absentes et inauditos iustum iudicem iudicare non congruit, crastino iudei euocentur, audiantur, <conui>ncantur,

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is also the weeping mother who deplores the fact that she was circumvented and seduced by the crafty tricks of a very cunning messenger of the Jews, and so her son was taken away. Wherefore, since these things are so certain and that *I too am concerned when my neighbour's house is in flames*, therefore I betake myself to you as my one and only protection, and lay my complaint before you with the more confidence because I conceive with a sure heart that you will by no means be unfaithful to the laws of right and equity."

With this peroration he brought his speech to an end and was silent, and with attentive ears and eyes fixed on the ground, and with an anxious heart, he waited for the Bishop's answer. Accordingly, while all were amazed and disturbed at what had occurred, they report that the Prelate, very much moved at the atrocity of the deed, and actuated by his zeal for justice, replied as follows:

"Forasmuch as that which you affirm to be certain is so far clearly uncertain to us, we shall at any rate take care to arrive at a certain knowledge of this business. And if indeed it shall be established to be so, as you maintain, be assured that the rigour of our justice shall in no wise be found wanting. But since it is not seemly that a just judge should pronounce upon those who are absent and unheard, let the Jews be summoned and have a hearing on the morrow; if they be convicted, let them receive the punishment that they deserve."

et conuicti pro meritis debitam sortiantur penam. Presentes itaque, negotii sermone ita in crastinum translato, et que ad synodum pertinebant ea die in parte pertractatis, omnes mane denuo reuersuri dicesserunt. Eadem uero die iussu presulis decanus Norwicensis iudeos conuenit, atque ut in crastino coram pontifice super tanta re synodo responsuri assisterent indixit. Quid ergo? Turbantur iudei, et ad uicecomitem Iohannem tanquam ad singulare asilum opem et consilium in tam difficili causa quesituri unanimiter recurrunt: cuius freti patrociniis multa multociens pericula euaserunt. Inito itaque consilio Iohannes, utpote quem rei ueritas non latebat, iudeos ad synodum crastinam uenire non permisit, immo per suos presuli nil ad ipsum de iudeis pertinere neque iudeos rege absente super talibus christianorum nugis responsuros mandauit. Presul uero tali percepto nuntio presbiteroque sub plena synodo hesternam iterare uolente querimoniam, domnum Aimarum priorem de sancto Pancratio aliosque eruditissimos et prudentissimos uiros quos illi synodo interesse tunc contigerat, quid super huiusmodi sibi uideatur responso interrogat. Qui unanimes deo legique christiane apertam inferri uiolentiam dicunt, eamque ecclesiastice rigore iusticie maturius

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Thus the dealing with this business being put off till next day, and the business of the Synod having been dealt with in part, all dispersed intending to return next morning. But by order of the Bishop the dean of Norwich on the same day summoned the Jews to appear, and ordered them to attend to answer on the morrow before the Synod regarding so important a matter.

The Jews were greatly disturbed and ran to the Sheriff John as their only refuge, seeking help and counsel in so difficult a cause, inasmuch as by trusting to his patronage they had often escaped many dangers. So John, having taken counsel and being one who was not ignorant of the truth, did not allow the Jews to come to the Synod on the morrow, and indeed he gave notice by his servants to the Bishop that he had nothing to do with the Jews, and that in the absence of the King the Jews should make no answer to such inventions of the Christians. But the Bishop having received this message (and the priest being willing to repeat his yesterday's complaint in full Synod), enquired of Dom. Aimar, Prior of St Pancras, and other very learned and prudent men who happened then to be present at that Synod, what answer they thought ought to be given. They declared unanimously that a manifest outrage was being done to God and Christian law, and they advised that it should be straightway vindicated with rigorous

cohercendam esse consulunt. Inter hec autem pontifex, nec preceps uideri uolens, nec iusticie animum subtrahens, memoratos Christi aduersarios secundo adhuc et tercio submonendos iudicat, ne nimia sententie acceleratio aut modum preueniat aut solitum consuetudinis limitem excedat. Vti autem decreuerat episcopus, decanus exequi non distulit. Sed iudei uenire dum renuunt peracta sỳnodo uiros sapientissimos presul consulit quid contra rem huiusmodi faciendum sit. Communi itaque actum est consilio Iohanni quidem ut suggeratur ne iudeos contra deum manuteneat, iudeis uero ut peremptoria proponatur sententia, quod ni citius purgandi ueniant se proculdubio exterminandos esse cognoscant. Quibus nimirum compulsus sermonibus Iohannes remota dilatione cum iudeis aduenit, et quid contra ipsos dicatur auditurus, coram pontifice fremebundus assistit. Nec mora, surgit presbiter sepedictus pretaxatam replicans querimoniam, et que protestatus est uerbo confestim se probaturum pollicitus est dei iuditio. Consilio autem uicecomitis iudei impositum sibi crimen abnegant, sed super propositi probatione iudicii quid uelint indutias deliberandi

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Ecclesiastical justice. In the meantime however the Bishop, not wishing to appear hasty, and yet not shrinking from doing the right, decided that the aforesaid enemies of Christ should be summoned a second and a third time, lest too much hurrying of the sentence should either go beyond moderation or transgress the ordinary bounds of custom. As the Bishop had decreed, so the dean did not fail to carry out his order. But when the Jews refused to appear, the president, when the Synod had come to an end, again consulted with the wisest men as to what was to be done under the circumstances. Accordingly it was determined by common consent that notice should be given to John that he should not protect the Jews against God, and to the Jews that peremptory sentence would be passed upon them, and that unless they at once came to purge themselves they must understand that without doubt they would be exterminated.

Of course John moved by these words came without delay, and the Jews with him, intending to hear what could be said against them, and presented himself before the Bishop in some dudgeon.

Thereupon the aforesaid Priest rose and explained his previous complaint, and what he asserted in word he promised that he would straightway prove by the Judgment of God.

The Jews by the advice of the Sheriff denied the charge brought against them; but as to the ordeal proposed, they asked for some small

uel minimas rogant. Renitente autem presbitero, omnemque prorsus dilationis inficiante moram, assensu episcopi super eo secretius locuturi ad consilium procedunt. Consulitur uicecomes quid sub tanto discrimine sibi restet agendum, quoniam et hinc induciarum dilationem sibi denegari cernunt, et inde iudicii examinationem omnino pertimescunt. Plurimis autem sermonibus salubris diuortii perquirentes uiam, singulisque rebus proportionaliter pertractatis, non aliud securum tanti discriminis repperiunt effugium nisi solum indutiarum et dilationis emolumentum. Quas si habere contingat, uenalem regis gratiam argumenti copia extorqueri leuiter sperant, quo sibi obiecti sermonem criminis funditus extinguant. Porro circa huiusmodi consilium plurima diei parte consumpta e consilio ad episcopum mittitur, ut postulate scilicet indutie quoquomodo concedantur. Quibus nequaquam impetratis iratus uicecomes cum iudeis non requisita licentia abeundi, ut mos est, abcessit. Illos uero quia extra manere eis tutum non erat, intra castelli tutatus est munitionem donec pace regio illis edicto indicta et corroborata securi inposterum redderentur et quieti. Quod ubi episcopo ceterisque qui cum ipso prestolabantur eos

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delay for deliberating. But on the priest refusing this and protesting against any kind of delay, with the assent of the Bishop they proceed to take counsel intending to confer secretly about it. The Sheriff is consulted as to what remained for them to do in so great a difficulty, inasmuch as they perceived that on the one hand any delay was denied them, and on the other they were dreadfully afraid of the trial by ordeal. After seeking some way of compromise, with a great deal of discussion, and after dealing with each alternative on its merits, they found no safe escape out of so great a difficulty except only by obtaining some truce and delay. If they could obtain that, they hoped they could easily extort from the King the favour which might be bought for money, of getting a chance of arguing the cause, and so utterly put an end to the rumour of the crime laid to their charge.

When the greatest part of the day had been spent in this kind of disputing, at last they sent to the Bishop asking that a respite of some sort should be allowed them. Which being peremptorily denied them, the Sheriff with the Jews, without asking for leave to depart as the usual custom is, went their way. But because it was not safe for them to remain outside, the Sheriff protected them within the defences of the Castle until, their security having been assured to them by a royal edict, they might be safe for the future and out of harm's way. When it was told to the Bishop and his supporters that they had gone away,

abisse renuntiatum est, quoniam regi regiisue ministris aperte obuiare uerebatur, ad horam quidem episcopus siluit, sermonemque intermissum nonnumquam retractandum succedentium temporum oportunitati reseruauit.

xvii. *Quomodo Aimarus prior sancti Pancratii corpus sancti martiris secum transf<er>endi licentiam petierit.*

AIMARVS autem memoratus prior de sancto Pancratio uisis et auditis que fiebant et annotatis, mentis interna tactus deuotione, presbiterum seorsum traxit, a quo rem gestam quantum ipsum scire licuit plenius ac diligentius sciscitari curauit. Vbi uero mortis modum tum per tormenti qualitatem tum per plagarum signa cognouit et numerum, quid aliud inter hec nimirum perpenderet, nisi quia sanctissimus ille puer in obprobrium Christi a iudeis reuera occisus fuisset? Vnde et quodam interne pietatis feruore ductus, ad episcopum confestim accessit, atque ut memorati pueri corpus secum transferre liceat multa precum instantia postulare studuit. Quod ubi impetrare non preualuit, respondisse fertur quia si eum apud Sanctum Pancratium teneri contigisset,

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inasmuch as he feared openly to oppose the King and his officers, the Bishop said nothing for the time, but reserved the speech which had been thus interrupted, with intent to repeat it when a future occasion should offer.

xvii. *How* Aimar *the Prior of St Pancras asked leave to take away with him the body of the Holy Martyr.*

But Aimar the forementioned Prior of St Pancras, having seen and heard and pondered all that had passed and moved by inward devotion of heart, took aside a certain priest from whom he was at the pains to inform himself very fully and carefully of the facts of the case as far as he knew them. But when he learnt the way in which the death had been brought about as well by the kind of torture as by the marks and number of the blows, what else could he infer with all this before him, but that the most holy boy had in very truth been killed by the Jews as an insult to Christ?

So, moved by a certain inward warmth of devotion, he went straight to the Bishop and earnestly begged with many prayers that he might be allowed to take away with him the body of the holy boy. But when he could not prevail in obtaining his request, it is said that he answered that if he had been so fortunate as to get him at St

nulla argenti uel auri commutatione ipsum alias asportari sineret, sed digne pro meritis exaltatum plurimoque uenerationis cultu celebrem tanquam thesaurum preciosissimum summa custodiret diligentia. Que prioris uerba pontificis Ebrardi adeo commouerunt animum, ut et ei uenerationis fierent argumentum atque erga puerum sanctum deuotionis ministrarent incrementum. Qua de re compulsus et plurimorum animatus consilio, beatissimi pueri corpus ad episcopalem ecclesiam afferri et in cimiterio monachorum disposuit tumulari.

xviii. *Quomodo allatus et lotus incorruptus inuentus sit.*

QVOSDAM igitur de Monachis cum quibusdam de clero ad ipsum afferendum episcopus elegit et electos die VIII° Kł. Maii ad id quod disposuerat exequendum direxit. Quibus precepta explentibus et iam redeuntibus tanta popularis multitudinis occurrit affluentia, quod perpaucos intra urbem remansisse estimares. Allatus est itaque thesaurus ille preciosus ac desiderabilis cum maximo cleri plebisque tripudio, atque a uenerabili monachorum conuentu

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Pancras, no sum of money would have induced him to allow of his being taken away elsewhere, but that he would have kept him with the utmost diligence as a most precious treasure, that he should have been exalted worthily according to his deserts and have become famous by conspicuous veneration and worship. Which words of the Prior so affected the mind of Bishop Eborard that they became an incentive to his veneration and served to increase his devotion towards the holy boy. Urged by this and affected by the advice of very many, he determined that the body of the blessed boy should be brought into the Cathedral Church and be buried in the Monks' Cemetery.

xviii. *How after being laid out and washed he was found to be uncorrupted.*

Hereupon the Bishop made choice of certain of the monks with some of the clergy to lay him out, and he directed those that were chosen to carry out his orders on the 24th of April. While they were carrying out their instructions and were now returning, so vast a concourse of the common people met them that you would have thought very few had stayed behind in the city. So that precious and exquisite treasure was carried with immense delight of clergy and people and brought by the venerable convent of the monks with a

processionaliter susceptus, sedisque episcopalis ecclesia introductus, ante sancte crucis altare cum feretro reponitur. Erat quippe feretrum pallio festiuo coopertum et hinc atque inde candelabra quadrangulariter apposita cereis relucebant ardentibus. A monachis missa pro requie fidelium solenniter cantabatur, turbisque ciuium tota sursum ac deorsum replebatur ecclesia. Celebrata denique missa ex deliberationis industria inter pulpitum et chorum reponitur monachorum, ne scilicet populi ad feretrum deosculandum, immo ad corpus si liceat inuisendum irrumpere uolentis insistens turba fratribus debitum funeri obsequium lauando exibentibus impedimento magis foret quam auxilio. Tanto enim interesse spectaculo summa erat leticia, e proximo stare felicitas. Quid plura? Eliguntur nonnulli de fratribus qui corpus lauent, lotum alba lintheisque benedictis inuoluant, et inuolutum itidem ut prius feretro componant. Qui ergo ad iniunctum conuenerant ministerium, corpus tunica denudant, pedibus calciamenta tollunt; ipsumque ex more mortuorum ad lauandum preparant. Dumque lauaretur, id miri contigit immo miris omnibus plus admirandum. Cum et enim iam xxx^ta^. ii. a die mortis eius pertransissent dies,

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procession and introduced into the Cathedral Church and placed with its bier before the altar of the Holy Cross. Moreover the bier was covered with a splendid pall, and candlesticks were placed upon it on this side and on that at all the four corners, and they gleamed with burning tapers. The mass of requiem was solemnly sung by the monks, and the whole Church was filled from end to end with the crowds of citizens.

And when the mass had been celebrated, the body was laid up between the screen and the monks' choir lest the crowds of people that were pressing in desiring to kiss the bier, and if possible to rush forward to see the body, should be a hindrance rather than a help to the brethren who were performing the proper ministry of washing the corpse. For it was a joy to be present at so great a spectacle and extreme happiness to be among those that were standing near. So some of the brethren were chosen to wash the body and, when it was washed, to wrap it in an albe and linen that had been blessed, and so wrapped round to place it again upon the bier. And they whose business it was took off the martyr's coat and the shoes from his feet, and prepared to wash him as is the custom with the dead. But while they were washing him, lo! this wonder, this more wonderful than all wonders happened. For though 32 days had passed since

integer inuentus est, et omnibus membris incorruptus. Inter baiulantium siquidem manus digitis, brachiis, ceterisque membris adeo flexibilis apparuit ut magis dormientem crederes quam mortuum estimares. Sed unde magis admiremini contigit, quia dum facies lauaretur, recens subito sanguis e naribus prorupit: unde nimirum assistentium cetus obstupuit. Sanguinem guttatim profluentem qui ministerio assistebant lintheaminibus excipiunt, quo cessante denuo faciem lauantes abstergunt. Qui uero tam admirabili affuere spectaculo nobis postmodum attestati sunt quoniam et dum lauaretur ac maxime dum sanguis proflueret, tam miri odoris naribus eorum aspersa est flagrantia, ut ipsa suauitas patenter daret intelligere auctorem suauitatis ad sancti corporis obsequium ueraciter aduenisse. Diuine porro presentie suauitas quid aliud nobis designare uoluit, nisi ut per hoc manifestius declararet quanti coram eo meriti in supernis existeret? Hoc quoque eorundem relatu didicimus, quod ab ipsis scilicet certa et manifesta in eo martyrii deprehensa sint indicia. Tum etenim capiti loto inter crebras spinarum punctiones lauando dum palmas sensim diducunt, quarundam earum que teste impressa inheserant spinarum offendunt capita. Inuenta extrahunt, et

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his death he was found to be unchanged and without corruption in any part. For, while under the hands of those that lifted him, he was so supple in his fingers, arms, and his other limbs that you would have judged him to be sleeping rather than dead. But what was more wonderful still, while they were washing his face, fresh blood suddenly issued from his nostrils, so that the company of those present were amazed. As the blood kept flowing drop by drop, they who were helping at the service caught it in napkins and when it ceased they again washed his face. But they who were present at the wondrous sight afterwards assured us how that, both while they were washing him and especially while the blood was flowing, so strange a fragrance of exceeding sweetness greeted their nostrils, that the very perfume evidently gave them to understand that the Giver of all sweetness had in very truth been present for the honouring of the holy body. For what else could the sweetness of the Divine presence have intended to show forth to us except that hereby He was manifestly declaring how great were the martyr's merits in the sight of heaven? This too we learnt from the report of these same men, how that they perceived certain and manifest indications of martyrdom in him. First when his head was washed and their hands carefully passed over it, among the numerous punctures of thorns they came upon pieces of the

summo deuotionis studio dum licuit conseruare curauerunt. Tum quoque dum uniuersa singillatim uisu percurrunt membra corporis sancti, palmis profecto pedibus et latere euidentia deprehendunt signa martŷrii. Ex nonnullis preterea inditiis que sibi apparuerunt aqua feruentissima et bullienti perfusum comperiunt. Corpore denique loto, alba illum ueste induunt, deinde lintheaminibus inuolutum feretro recomponunt. Interim dum hec agerentur, per totam urbem quo sanctissimum beati martŷris conderetur corpus quesitum est sarcophagum, nec inuentum. In cimiterio igitur sub capituli pariete fossa effossa est ubi truncus et trunco imponeretur corpus. Dum autem foderetur, mirum dictu, sarcophagum sarcophago resupinatum inuenitur. Vtrumque intus mundum et candidum erat, quia nullius aliquando cadauer intromissum fuerat. Quod reuera idcirco pro miraculo habitum est, quoniam inter ecclesie primores primosque illius fundatores nec unus inuentus est qui eorum reminisceretur sarcophagorum, a quibus scilicet illuc allata uel quando ibi fuerint recondita. Id tamen consequenter conicimus, quod diuina prouidentia ea sancto Willelmo tam diu reseruauerat intacta et illibata.

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actual thorns, which they extracted, and took care that they should be preserved with utmost reverence. Next, while they examined one by one all the portions of the sacred body, they found evident signs of martyrdom in his hands and feet and side. Moreover there were plain indications that he had been plunged into boiling water. At last after washing the body they clothed him in a white garment, wrapped him in linen, and put him back upon the bier.

Meantime while these things were being done, search was made through the whole city for a sarcophagus in which the sacred body of the martyr might be laid, but none could be found; so a grave was dug in the cemetery just under the wall of the chapter house, where the body might be entombed in a wooden coffin. But while they were digging, strange to tell, a sarcophagus was actually found there resting upon another; and both one and the other was clean and pure within, because evidently never had any dead man's corpse been laid therein. This circumstance was in truth at once accepted as a miracle, since among the great men of the Church and its first founders not one could be found who remembered any such sarcophagi, nor who had brought them, nor when they had been put away there. Consequently we conjecture that these had been preserved by divine providence so long intact and unused for Saint William.

xix. *De tumulatione eius in cimiterio monachorum.*

HIS prout memorauimus consummatis, animeque commendatione ex more mortuorum peracta, cum psalmis et laudibus preit processionaliter fratrum couentus; egregius uero martir in cimiterio interiori subsequitur tumulandus. Impletur cimiterium milibus hominum alio de latere per portam introeuntium et intrantibus uix loci iam sufficiebat capacitas. Hinc monachi et clerus cum psalmodie laudibus celebres celebrabant exequias: inde laici cum maximo assistebant gaudio. Qui uero aderant, quamquam cultu uel sexu forent dispares, erant tamen singuli ad perspiciendum unanimitate conformes. Porro exequiis rite celebratis ac sepulchro in introitu cimiterii ex parte claustri decenter composito, corpus beatissimi martiris feretro depositum intro componitur. Impositum siquidem sepulchro omnium oculis quibus tamen uidere licebat alba ut erat ueste inuolutum per aliquantum hore spacium conspici sinebatur. Quibus uero e proximo stare contigerat uelut quibusdam eorum postmodum cognoui referentibus pretaxatam contigit ibidem sensisse odoris suauitatem. Demum

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xix. *Of his entombment in the Monks' Cemetery.*

These things, as we have related, having been accomplished and the commending of his soul to GOD, as is usual with the service of the dead, having been finished, the glorious martyr was taken into the inner cemetery to be laid in his tomb, the whole convent of the brethren going before in a procession with psalms and praises. The cemetery was filled by thousands of men who entered by the gate on the other side, and the area was hardly large enough for those who kept coming in. On the one side were the clergy and the monks who were celebrating the exequies with songs of praise, on the other were the laity who were taking their part with exceeding joy. But though they who were present differed in grade and in sex, they were all of one mind in wishing to see the sight. At last, after the exequies had been celebrated, the sepulchre having been decently prepared at the entrance of the cemetery on the cloister side, the body of the most blessed martyr was taken from the bier and laid within it. And as it lay in the sepulchre it was exposed to view for some considerable time to the gaze of those who were permitted to look upon it, wrapped in a white shroud. But to those who chanced to be standing near, as I was informed afterwards by some of them, it was granted to have a perception there of the sweet smelling fragrance that I mentioned before.

pro lamina, quia laminam non habebant, alterius sepulchri concaua medietas superponitur, lapisque lapidi cemento conglutinatur. Quibus expletis, dominum relinquens custodem, conuentus monachorum in ecclesiam psallendo regreditur; alii uero ad propria domini glorificando magnalia reuertuntur.

Explicit liber primus.

Lastly, instead of a slab, because no slab was forthcoming, the concave half of the other sarcophagus was placed over him and stone was fixed to stone with cement. All being over, leaving the Lord to watch over him, the convent of monks returned into the Church chanting, but the rest returned to their homes glorifying the wonderful works of the Lord.

HERE ENDETH THE FIRST BOOK.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

Incipiunt capitula libri secundi.

i. Responsio in illos qui sanctitati eius derogant.
ii. Commendatio innocentie et egregie sanctitatis eius.
iii. De rosa que ad sepulchrum eius hiemis refloruit tempore.
iv. De admirabili uisione cuiusdam egroti et ipsius cura.
v. De consimili uisione cuiusdam puellule.
vi. De pregnante mire liberata.
vii. De uirgine quadam de Donewiȝ a demonis incubi infestatione liberata.
viii. Commentorium[1] illis qui miraculis sancti Willelmi derogant et qui eum a iudeis occisum uel negant uel dubitant.
ix. Primum argumentum. Secundum argumentum.
x. Tercium argumentum. Quartum argumentum.

[1] *sic*: *l.* commonitorium.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK.

(i) An answer to those who depreciate his sanctity.
(ii) A commendation of his innocence and notable sanctity.
(iii) Concerning the Rose which blossomed by his grave in the winter time.
(iv) Concerning the wonderful Vision of a certain sick man and his cure.
(v) Concerning a similar Vision of a certain young girl.
(vi) Concerning the wondrous deliverance of a woman in labour.
(vii) Concerning a certain virgin of Dunwich, delivered from the assaults of a devilish Incubus.
(viii) A warning to those who depreciate the miracles of Saint William, and who either deny or doubt that he was slain by the Jews.
(ix) The first and second arguments.
(x) The third and fourth arguments.

xi. Quintum argumentum. Sextum argumentum.
xii. Septimum argumentum. Conclusio.
xiii. Qualiter iudeos tunc norwicenses ultio diuina et christianicidas perculerit.
xiv. Accusatio iudeorum in christianos et translatio criminis in eosdem.
xv. Qualiter et diuine ultionis iuditium circa Iohannem uicecomitem apparuit.

Expliciunt capitula.

Incipit liber secundus.

i.

SVPERIORI quidem libello prout credibilium relatu uirorum scire licuit beatissimi martŷris Willelmi pueritiam pro modulo nostro exposuimus et mortem. Sed priusquam ad miracula eius accedamus et translationem, quorundam quos nescio malitia magis ducat an inuidia uerbose garrulitati obuiare libet. Quorum proteruam insolentiam et insolentem proteruiam quia diutius sustinere non possum, satŷrico telo transfigere ac rationis compescere freno conabor. Ipsi sunt qui alienis gaudentes infortuniis applaudunt, aliorum semper profectibus marcescunt. Ad uitu-

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(xi) The fifth and sixth arguments.
(xii) The seventh argument and conclusion.
(xiii) How the divine vengeance at that time fell upon the Jews of Norwich, the murderers of Christians.
(xiv) The accusation of the Jews against the Christians and the retorting of the charge against them by the Christians.
(xv) How the proof of the divine vengeance was made manifest in the case of the Sheriff John.

i.

In the former book I have set forth the boyhood and the death of the most blessed martyr St William according to my poor ability, as I was able to obtain my information from the relation of men who were to be believed. But before I proceed to his miracles and his translation, I prefer to comment upon the wordy gabble of certain persons whom their malice or their envy (I know not which it is) is instigating; whose saucy insolence and their insolent sauciness, because I can no longer put up with it, I will try to pierce through with the spear of satire and to restrain with the curb of reason. These are they who delighting in the misfortunes of others rejoice, and always are saddened

perandum prompti ac precipites, si maliloquii defuerit materia tristes. Ad detrahendum promptissimi, ad laudandum inuiti. Si quid uero forte in aliquibus paulo ante laudauerant, id ipsum modo in aliis conuerso lingue folio dampnant, tanquam uirtus et uitium non rebus insint sed cum auctoribus mutentur. Ociosis latratibus aerem et lingue uerbere uerberantes fatigant, et caninis morsibus aggredi probitatem soliti ac celestibus ingrati beneficiis diuina etiam in quantum preualent uel ausi sunt magnalia sub palliate uoto religionis adnullare uel imminuere siue saltem deprauare non nunquam conantur. Hoc itaque genus hominum diuine uirtutis omnipotentia uel dignis flagellis corripiat ut resipiscant, siue nocendi potentiam tollat ne conualescentes preualeant. Porro his et talibus, quibus reuera ueritas que deus est semper aduersatur, ueritatis succensus zelo nunquam aduersari desistam. Quorum temerariam insolentiam sub presentis pagine stadio expugnaturus et innocentiam defensurus accessi. Exprobrantes allophilos alter Dauid ex aduerso concurrens deturbare festino; rationum allegationes quosdam spirituales quasi lapides mentis pera defero. Vnus ergo pro ceteris Golias exprobrans mecum

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at the successes of others. Ready and eager to find fault, if there is a lack of material for slander they are sad. Most prompt to disparagement, they are unwilling to praise. If by any chance they have applauded anything in any body one moment, that same thing with a twist of the tongue they condemn the next moment in others, as if virtue and vice were not in the act but changed their character with the doers of the act. With their idle barking they weary the air as they wag their tongues; their wont is to assail honesty with their currish biting, and, thankless for heaven's gifts, they try, so far as they can or dare, under the garb of religion to make little or nothing of divine mysteries, or, at least, to turn them to ridicule. This race of men therefore may the omnipotence of the divine goodness either correct with deserved scourges that they may come to a better mind, or may it take away from them the power of doing harm, lest they should gain strength and prevail. Assuredly these and such as these the very truth—which is God—always does resist, and I stirred by zeal for the truth will never cease to oppose; whose rash insolence on the arena of this present page I intend to assault, and to stand up for innocence. I, a second David, hasten to confound the abusive Philistines, running forth from the opposite ranks, drawing forth from the scrip of my mind certain spiritual weapons of reasoning as it were stones. Let one Goliath then, on behalf of the rest, with his

congrediatur pro allophilis. Ecce iam rotante ac iaciente labiorum funda limpidissimo uerbi lapide frontem irreuerentem conteram, et proprio lingue sue gladio pectora maliuola transfodiam. Quisquis itaque presumptionis nobis peccatum improperat, quique temeritate nos redarguit accedat, inquam, accedat et dicat, quod garrulizare solebat. Aiebat enim: Presumptuosum nimis est quod uniuersalis ecclesia non recipit tam audacter suscipere et non sanctum pro sancto habere. Temerarium quoque uidetur tam magnifice uenerari in terris quem nec dum constat deum glorificasse in celis. Audiat e contra quia sic durus obicit Allobroga cuius ingenii meatus rigoris lapidei duricies obstructos obsidet. Attendat etiam quoniam sic ferire soleat cecus, qui uel quid uel qua feriat non uidet. Si enim presumptionis redarguendi sunt qui sanctorum quos totus non nouit mundus seu quos uniuersaliter ecclesia non celebrat recolunt memoriam, perpaucos uel nullos repperies qui non eandem incurrerint culpam. Et ut uerum fatear, preter gloriosam uirginem dei matrem et baptistam Iohannem atque apostolos, paucis sanctorum attribuitur quod ubique terra-

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scoffs join battle with me for the Philistines. Lo! by the sling of my lips and its whirl and force I will crash through the shameless forehead with the smooth stone of the word, and with the sword of his own tongue I will pierce through the heart of the gainsayer.

Wherefore whosoever he be who attributes to me the sin of presumption, and charges me with rashness, let him come forward, say I, let him come forward and speak out that which his wont was to babble and jabber!

He has been saying, look you, It is very presumptuous to maintain so confidently that which the church universal does not accept and to account that holy which is not holy. Moreover it seems rash to honour so magnificently upon earth him whom it is not yet certain that God has glorified in the heavens. Let this stern Philistine, who brings these objections, attend to our reply, though a stony hardness besets the passages of his brain. Let him observe too that this is the way that a blind man strikes out, who sees not what or where he is hitting. For if they are to be accused of presumption who keep up the memory of saints whom the whole world does not know, or whom the church universal does not celebrate, you will find very few or none who will not incur the same blame. And to say the truth, saving only the glorious Virgin mother of God and John the Baptist and the Apostles, of few of the saints can it be said that the

rum quibus christiani nominis floret religio ipsorum notitia propaletur. Nempe nunquid uniuersos quos ipsa recolit Roma, eosdem celebrandos Gallia suscepit atque Britannia? Nunquid illud celebre beatissimi regis et martŷris Eadmundi gloriosique confessoris Cuthberti nomen in partibus Anglie uniuersis innotuit Grecie populis siue Palestine? Verum ut summatim concludam, quos Asia celebres habet uel Affrica, nunquid eosdem uniuersos uniuersa celebrare consueuit Europa? Si igitur ita, immo quia ita constat esse, qualiter presumptionis reatum incurrant, si quem uniuersaliter uel non nouit uel non recolit ecclesia digna uenera-tione celebrant? Quod autem presumptionis esse inquiunt non sanctum scilicet pro sancto habere, et nos procul dubio id ipsum dicimus, atque id attestando in hoc eis assentimus. Sed quoniam ceteris que consequenter redarguimus maliuole intentionis id interseruit lingua, ac de inuidie radice processit, mordaci uersutie obuiare respondendo nitimur. Audiant igitur qui caninum dentem simplicitati nostre imprimunt, qui gloriosissimi martŷris Willelmi ledentes famam imminutione quadam sanctitatis indebitam laudem laudisque promotionem pro posse suo supprimunt et minuendo

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knowledge of them is spread abroad over all the earth whereon the religion of the Christian name prevails. In sooth is it the fact that all those whom Rome herself honours Gaul and Britain accept as equally worthy of renown? Is it the fact that the famous name of the most blessed King and Martyr Eadmund or of the glorious Confessor Cuthbert, renowned in every part of England, is equally well known among the people of Greece or Palestine? Or, to sum up, in the case of those whom Asia or Africa counts as famous, does all Europe pay them all a customary reverence? If this therefore be plain, or rather because it is plain, how are they to be charged with presumption who celebrate, with a reverence that is due to them, some whom the Church universal either does not know or does not honour?

But as to the presumption they talk of, to wit the esteeming him to be a saint who was no saint, doubtless we say the same, and we assent to that with all heartiness. But since this objection has been inserted among the others with which we are dealing, by the tongue of malice and wickedness, and springs from the root of envy, we shall try in our answer to meet this carping craftiness. Let them listen then who leave the impress of their currish teeth upon our simplicity, who, slurring the fame of the most glorious martyr William by detracting from his sanctity, do all they can to stop the spread of his renown and persecute

persequuntur: audiant, inquam, audiant qui nos deliros autumant, rerumque ueritatem simplicitatis intuentes oculo glorie sanctorum detrahere amodo conquiescant. Nos equidem ut sanctum ueneramur quem nos reuera sanctum cognouimus, non autem non sanctum pro sancto habemus. Porro sanctitati eius de quo loquimur precedentis libri pagina testimonium perhibet manifestisque indiciis id ipsum subsequentia et cotidiana attestantur miracula. Que nisi nutu diuino fierent, tamdiu nequaquam perseuerassent; quoniam que ex deo non sunt per se citius dispereunt. De cetero denique quod consequenter obiectum est, temerarium quidem esse tam magnifice scilicet uenerari quem necdum constat, ut aiunt, glorificari; queso respondeant qui simplicitatis ac pure conscientie gesta deprauare non cessant. Si uero respondere renuunt, audiat benignorum diligentia quod audire refugit inuidorum uersuta maliuolentia. Respondeat, queso, respondeat calumpniator ille uersutus; quando in tercium celum raptus ascenderit, ut ei reuelarentur secreta celi et fieret alter Paulus, uel non impar Paulo? De tanta reuelatione sua uel illud

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him by making light of him: let them hear—let them hear, I say—they who pretend that we are mad—the truth of the facts, and look at them with the eyes of simplicity—and henceforth let them cease to detract from the glory of the saints. As for us, in very truth, we reverence as a saint him whom in deed we *know* to be a saint, and we are not esteeming as a saint one who is no saint. Moreover to his sanctity of whom we are speaking the previous book bears testimony, and that same testimony the subsequent and daily miracles confirm by manifest proofs. The which, if they had not been wrought by divine power, could by no means have continued so long, since those things which are not of God very soon pass away.

As regards the next point which is objected, namely that it is rash to venerate so extravagantly him of whom, as they say, it is uncertain as yet whether he be glorified, I would fain that they who cease not from making light of the efforts of simplicity and a pure conscience should make answer. But if they refuse to answer, let the right-mindedness of the well-disposed give ear to that which the crafty malice of the envious refuses to hear. Let him make answer, say I, yea let that cunning slanderer make answer, and say when it was that he ascended on high, caught up to the third heaven, that the secrets of heaven should be revealed to him and he should become a second Paul or not unequal to Paul. Of this great revelation, at least let him tell us

saltem nobis reuelet, quos in paradiso glorificatos conspexerit, uel quos perceperit exclusos. Quia uero lippis profecto patet et tonsoribus horum omnium nichil prorsus extitisse, qua fronte malignorum contumax audatia tam audacter presumpsit asserere quod nullatenus constiterit ipsam posse rescire? Itaque qui simplicitatis nostre deuotionem et deuotionis pium obsequium de presumptione uel temeritate redarguunt citius obmutescant, erroremque suum ac proprium presumptionis et temeritatis reatum recognoscant. Nunc tandem quia proteruis obtrectationibus ad plenum nos respondisse putamus, metamque prologi plenius respondendo excessimus a tramite narrationis longius digressi, ad eundem renouatis calamis lingue pedem referamus.

ii. *Commendatio martirii innocentie virginitatis et eggregie sanctitatis eius.*

CVM tuba nobis personet euangelica, nisi qui legitime certauerit neminem omnino coronari, procul dubio constat solis legitime certantibus celestis brauii coronam repromitti, et tamen

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one point: who they were whom he beheld glorified in Paradise, and whom he saw shut out? But inasmuch as it is clear alike to blind men and barbers, that he has had no such experience, with what effrontery does the perverse audacity of the malignant presume to assert that which it is quite certain that he cannot know? Therefore let those who find fault with our devout simplicity and the pious practice of our devotion on the score of presumption or temerity hold their peace at once, and let them acknowledge that their own proper error is chargeable with presumption and temerity.

But now because we think that we have made full answer to their saucy cavils and have wandered from the course of our narrative and exceeded the limit of a prologue by making answer only too fully, let us bring back the foot of our tongue to that same narrative with a fresh nibbed pen.

ii. *A commendation of his martyrdom, his innocence, virginity and conspicuous sanctity.*

Since the Gospel trump sounds forth to us that none is ever crowned unless he strive lawfully, it is certain beyond doubt that the heavenly crown is promised only to those who strive lawfully; and yet it is bestowed in return for special merits of some special persons.

pro meritis singulorum singulis retribui. Cumque in summi patrisfamilias domo mansiones multe sint, quid aliud estimemus, nisi quia secundum diuersa diuersorum profecto merita diuersa eis mansionum assignentur et contubernia? Eminentioribus clauiger celi presidet Petrus cum consociis apostolis super thronos duodecim ad diiudicandum orbem considentibus. Mediorum uero ordinum loca prothomartyr et signifer optinet Stephanus cum numeroso sanctorum martyrum exercitu qui contra tyrannos et christiani nominis hostes pro fide Christi tuenda fortiter dimicantes in tormentis effuso sanguine per mortem carnis transitoriam ad uitam migrauerunt sine fine mansuram. Ordine denique tercio succedit numerosa et felix illa sanctorum confessorum multiplicitas, qui uita religiosi, moribus ornati, uirtutibus pleni, meritorum effulsere radiis ac bene uiuendi formam mundo relinquentes in pace ecclesie quieuerunt. Quid ergo? Vniuersaliter omnes qui supernis consistunt sedibus interminatis funguntur gaudiis, infinita conregnant gloria, et sicut sol in perpetuas refulgent eternitates. Ibi nempe uera sunt gaudia, ibi uita, pax, et quies coeterna; ibi quicquid bonum, et solius mali absentia. In qua nimirum inestimabili gloria agnum illum dominicum qui pascit inter lilia sequuntur

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Moreover, since in the Heavenly Father's house there are many mansions, what else can we think but that, according to the diverse merits of divers persons, divers are the mansions and tabernacles assigned to them? Peter who holds the keys presides over the more eminent along with his fellow apostles, who sit upon twelve thrones to judge the world. But the place of the middle order Stephen the protomartyr and standard-bearer fills, with the great army of holy martyrs who, bravely struggling against tyrants and foes of the Christian name in defence of the faith in Christ, have shed their blood under tortures and passed away by the brief death of the flesh to the life that knows no end. In the third rank succeeds that great and happy multitude of holy confessors who, religious in their lives, beautiful in their characters, rich in virtues, have shone forth with the beams of their merits and leaving to the world an example of good living have fallen asleep in the peace of the Church. What then? All universally who have their place in the mansions above are enjoying the never ending joys; they reign together in infinite glory and like the sun they shine forth through all eternity. Verily there true joys are to be found. There is life, peace, and abiding quiet; there whatever is good is to be found; there evil alone is absent. In that incomparable glory is that blessed Lamb of God that feedeth among the

uirginum chori quocunque ierit. Quibus solis ea priuilegii concessa est prerogatiua, quod soli illius excellentissime nouitatis concinunt canticum, quoniam puram et illibatam uirginitatis sue conseruantes stolam domino purum munditie sue optulerunt celibatum. Quorum sacris gloriosum martyrem Willelmum reuera non diffidimus interesse collegiis, stola insignitum triplici, ac inter precipuos annumerandum. Nec immerito stole triplicis insignia promeruit, qui duas, innocentie scilicet ac uirginitatis, quas habebat stolas, ut sibi terciam uindicaret, roseo martŷrii sanguine rubricauit. Neque quispiam que dico his tanquam rebus suo tempore insuetis cordis aures et fidei diligentiam auertat, quoniam nisi que uel ipse uidi, siue diligenti indagatione a uiris credibilibus pro certo scire potui, omnino nichil presentibus scriptis commendare curaui. Nempe si rei ueritatem diligens simplicitatis superficie tenus saltem percurrat oculus, quid aliud uidens uidebit, aut attendens percipiet, nisi quod beati Willelmi pueritiam et innocentia saluat et uirginitatis munditia commendat? Et qui certis uulnerum indiciis, quisquis ea fecerit, quibusdam quasi argumentis reuera occisus comprobatur, adeo

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lilies, and the choirs of virgins follow him whithersoever he goeth. To them alone is that privilege and prerogative granted, that they sing the new song that is above all others, since they have preserved the robe of their virginity pure and undefiled and offered to their Lord a pure and celibate chastity. In the sacred bands of these we do not doubt that the glorious martyr William has in very truth a place conspicuous in his triple stole, and deserving to be numbered among the illustrious ones. And not without cause has he won the ornament of the triple stole; for he dyed with the rosy blood of martyrdom the two stoles of innocence and virginity which he already had, that he might claim for himself the third stole.

Now let no one withhold his attention from these things that I assert, because they are matters not usual in his own time, since I have been careful to set down in this present writing nothing but what I myself saw or else know for certain to be so from diligent enquiry of men to be trusted. Verily, if the careful eye of simplicity do but examine the truth of the matter on the surface, what else will it see by its seeing or perceive by giving due heed, but that the blessed William's innocence preserved his boyhood and that the purity of his virginity exalted it: and by the certain marks of his wounds, whoever may have inflicted them, he is proved as it were by sure arguments to have been indeed slain; and

paruulus et innocens nullis precedentibus culpis necem promeruisse qualiter credatur? Aut que preciosarum uestium siue quarumlibet diuitiarum ad tam execrabile facinus admittendum trahere posset aliquem cupiditas, cum ipsum constet harum rerum prorsus habuisse nullas? Sed quomodocunque res gesta fuerit, id tamen pro certo tenemus quoniam durissimis attrectatus modis tandem occisus sit atque ad dominum creatorem suum creatura innocens uirgo et martir ab hac luce migrauerit. Quod autem sanctus dici debeat, immo et sit, cotidianis circa sepulchrum eius contingentibus miraculis diuina protestatur gratia, qui ea ipsa temporibus nostris et misericorditer exhibere et quanti apud eum sit quem ita glorificat manifeste non dedignatur ostendere. Que scilicet miracula prout uidimus siue auditu cognouimus, ex pontificali precepto et conuentus Norwicensis rogatu, ego Thomas Monemutensis deo annuente scripto commendanda suscepi, et ne ipsa delere possit obliuio posteris studui reseruare temporibus.

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who can believe that, young as he was and innocent, he can have deserved death, since no previous fault is known? Or again, what desire for his costly garments or any sort of wealth could have drawn on any one to the commission of so execrable a crime, when it is certain that he possessed none of these things? But let the matter have happened as it may, we hold it for certain that after being handled in the cruellest manner he was slain at last, and that this innocent creature passed away to his Creator a virgin and a martyr.

But that he deserved to be called a saint and that he truly is one, the grace of God makes manifest by the daily miracles that are occurring round about his sepulchre—God, who does not disdain mercifully to show us these very things in our own times and to make it plain how highly he is esteemed whom He so manifestly glorifies. These miracles accordingly, which we have witnessed or know of by report, by command of the Bishop and at the request of the Convent of Norwich, I, Thomas Monemutensis, by divine permission have undertaken to commit to writing, and lest oblivion should avail to blot them out, I have been careful to hand them down to future times.

iii. *De Rosa que ad sepulchrum eius tempore hiemis refloruit.*

AD sanctitatis reuera inditium et meritorum eius declarandam excellentiam quiddam dominus fieri uoluit unde et consuetum nature ordinem commutauit. Cum etenim quorundam monachorum pia deuotio ramusculum qui tempore estiuo in claustro floribus roseis uernans iam effloruerat ad capud sepulchri sancti martyris eodem quo ibi tumulatus est anno circa festum sancti Michaelis transplantasset, continuo terre radicitus inhesit et reuirescentibus foliis paucis interiectis diebus non sine magna omnium admiratione refloruit. Vniuersis uero floribus usque ad festum sancti Eadmundi in ramusculo perseuerantibus, uehemens ýmbrium et uentorum exorta tunc procella omnes preter unum excussit. Qui autem rubicundior et supereminentior ceteris preminebat, excussis reliquis in ramusculi cacumine, locum tenuit, atque per ýmbres, uentos, niues et frigora brumalia non sine diuino conseruatus nutu, multis post diebus in ramusculo perdurauit. Quem nimirum florem plurimi admiratione ducti uidere curauerunt; ex quibus nonnulli se circa natale domini ipsum uidisse testati sunt. Perpendat igitur diuinum in hac re non

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iii. *Concerning the rose which bloomed in winter at his grave.*

As a token in very truth of his sanctity and for the setting forth of the excellence of his merits it pleased the Lord that something should take place wherein He changed the ordinary course of nature. Accordingly when the pious devotion of certain of the monks had transplanted a small shrub, which in the summer had blossomed with roses in the cloister, to the head of the holy martyr's grave, about the feast of St Michael in the same year in which he was buried there, it immediately took root, and in a few days it put forth leaves and, to the great astonishment of all, it blossomed again, and all the flowers remained on the branches even to the feast of St Edmund (20 November): but then a great storm of wind and rain arose and shook them all off save one, which was remarkable as redder and more conspicuous than all the rest; and, when all the other roses were shaken off, this one kept its place on the top branch, and through the rain and wind and snow and winter cold, preserved by divine favour, still remained upon the branch for many days. Of course many people attracted by the marvel took good care to see it, of whom some have testified that they saw it there about Christmas time. Therefore whoever he be who is not ungrateful for the divine mercies, let him

defuisse operationis misterium quisquis beneficiis diuinis non ingratus esse consueuit. Et dum circa corpus beatissimi martiris Willelmi nature ordinem immutatum comperit, in testimonium martirii eius rosam uoluntate diuina sic effloruisse existimet, et dominum in sanctis suis mirificum collaudet.

iv. *De admirabili uisione cuiusdam egroti et de eius cura.*

ALIVD quoque eodem anno contigit miraculum, in quo quid aliud diuina nobis bonitas designare uoluit, nisi quia et in celis multe sit excellentie beatissimus puer et martŷr Willelmus, plurimaque in terris ueneratione condignus? Erat enim homo quidam Lewinus nomine in uilla que apellatur Welle, que sita in palustribus Helŷ aquis undique a continenti intercluditur. Is cum diuturna egrotasset ualetudine, totoque inbecillis corpore iaceret, sui omnes qui aderant de salute ipsius omnino diffidebant. Aderant tunc paschalis temporis dies, quibus ingrauescente tandem morbi angustia et discurrente per singulos artus prenuntia mortis frigiditate, anelitus interripitur, pulsus attenuatur, et languen-

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lay it to heart, how that in this manner a mystery of divine operation was not wanting; and seeing that near the body of the most blessed martyr William a change of the order of nature was brought about, let him accept the truth that it was by the divine will, as a testimony to the fact of his martyrdom, that the rose did thus blossom; and let him praise the Lord who doeth wonders among His saints.

iv. *Concerning the wondrous vision of a certain sick man, and concerning his cure.*

Another miracle happened the same year, in which what else did the divine goodness wish to shew to us if it were not that in the heavens the most blessed boy and martyr was held of much account, and is worthy of much veneration here on earth?

For there was a certain man named Lewin in a town called Wells[1], and which situated in the marshes of Ely is surrounded on all sides with water. This man had been ill with a long sickness, and lain with his body altogether helpless; and all his friends who were with him were altogether despairing of his recovery. The Easter time was drawing near, when, the torments of his disease increasing upon him, and the cold that is a presage of death coming over all his limbs, his breathing was interrupted and his pulse was very weak, his eyelids

[1] This may be Upwell, Outwell, or Welney.

tibus iam palpebris res ad extremum duci uidebatur. Alternatis uero uicibus nunc pallidus et interdum apparebat rubicundus. Vnde quidam assistentium cum pallidum cernerent, mortuum estimantes ad funeris se preparabant exequias. Qui uero interfuerant astutiores, maxime quia et rubicundum quandoque uiderent, necdum emortuum esse credentes, donec certiores inde fierent conseruandum adiudicabant. Quibus denique tanquam prudentioribus adquiescunt ceteri, eumque in diem tercium studuerunt conseruari. Porro inter hec eger in extasim raptus et ab angelo, uelut ipse postea testatus est, assumptus, per loca diuersa tum horribilia tum amena deducitur. In illis innumerabilem turbam diuersis cruciari penis conspicit, in quibus et nonnullos quos in uita cognouerat recognoscit. Qui eo uiso ac cognito, familiaria quedam et secreta ei tradentes intersigna quibusdam suorum uitali luce adhuc fruentibus per ipsum mandando notificant, eosdem illis preparatos cruciatus nisi ab his et ab illis penitentes desistant criminibus. Quibus uisis inde abducitur et penalia atque horroris plena transgrediens loca, amenissimam et florigeram duce angelo ingreditur regionem. Quam pertransiens innumeram ibi

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drooped, and the end seemed to be drawing near. But then there came a change: for one moment he was all pallid, and the next he seemed to get red. So that some of those standing by, when they saw him blanched, thinking him dead, were for preparing for his last exequies. But they who were more knowing, especially when they saw him getting red, not believing that he was dead, decided that he ought to be kept until they could be more certain upon the point. Until at last the others were guided by the more prudent, and agreed that he should be kept till the third day.

In the meanwhile the sick man was carried away in an ecstasy and was taken up and conducted by an angel, as he afterwards testified, through various regions, some horrible and some delightful. In them he saw a countless multitude being tortured with different punishments, and among them he recognised many whom he had known when alive. And they, when they saw him and knew him, entrusted him with certain secret and familiar signs and tokens; and commissioning him to certain of their kindred who were still enjoying the light of life, they assured these that the same torments were prepared for them, unless they should repent and desist from those crimes that they knew of. When he had seen these things, he was led away from thence and had passed through the terrible regions of punishment; and under the guidance of the angel he entered a most delightful region where the

hominum multitudinem in glorie inestimabilis gaudio positam cernit, et inde per uiam diuersis constratam floribus digrediens ante sedentem in throno dominum tandem adductus consistit. Intolerabili uero splendore lucis perterritus, primo diriguit, sed animante angelo animum resumens, excusso timore securius pedem fixit. Atque in illo chorusce lucis fulgore defixo intuitu uidet dominum dominatorem uniuersorum throno sedentem aureo, lapidibus preciosis exornato, et ante eum sanctorum milia. Videt quoque a dextris in maiestate sedentis domini beatam et gloriosam assidentem uirginem Mariam et ad pedes dominice maiestatis puerum conspicit quasi duodennem scabello residentem aureo. Cuius habitus niue candidior, cuius uultus sole splendidior, et in capite eius fulgebat corona aurea preciosissimis undique insignita lapidibus. Cui pariter congratulabantur sanctorum chori eumque maxime uenerabantur ordines angelici. Quibus uisis plurimum admirans Lewinus duci angelo ait: Quis est hic, domine, ad pedes domini scabello residens, cui tanti ab uniuersis impenduntur honores? Cui angelus: Hic est, inquit, cui honor debetur perpetuus, quem in derisum dominice passionis et opprobrium his

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flowers bloomed. And as he passed through it he discerned a countless multitude of men whose home was in the joy of unspeakable glory, and passing through them by a road that was all strewn with different flowers, he was led on till at last he stood before the Lord sitting on His throne. Here, frightened by the unbearable splendour of the light, at first he swooned, but recovering himself when the angel revived him, and getting rid of his fear, he stood upon his feet again more firmly; and fixing his gaze upon the splendour of that shining light, he beheld the Lord, the Ruler of the Universe, sitting on a golden throne, adorned with precious stones, and thousands of the saints before Him. He saw too on the right hand of the Lord in majesty, the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, sitting near Him, and at the feet of the Lord's majesty there was a boy as it were of twelve years old, reclining upon a golden footstool. His raiment was whiter than snow, and his face brighter than the sun, and upon his head there shone a golden crown, studded everywhere with precious stones. All the choirs of the saints together congratulated him, and the orders of angels were doing him exceeding honour. And when he saw these things, Lewin, wondering much, said to the angel that was his guide: "Sir, who is this sitting on the footstool at the feet of the Lord, to whom such great honour is paid by all?" To whom the angel answered: "This is he to whom perpetual honour is due, whom the Norwich Jews slew in

sacris diebus iudei Norwicenses peremerunt. Eiusque debetur meritis quod ad sepulchrum illius remedium suscipias sanitatis. Et his dictis inde continuo assumitur, ac reductus suo restituitur corpori. Remeante uero anima, in conspectu assistentium subito corpus omne contremuit, illisque perterritis qui mortuus putabatur rediuiuus apparuit. Resumptisque paulatim uiribus, post paululum aperuit oculos, et euocato patri totam ex ordine prout uiderat exposuit uisionem. Attonitis super his et admirantibus qui aderant uniuersis subiunxit dicens: Ecce annuntiante mihi ac promittente angelo, ad spem salutis reuocor, unde necesse est, pater, ut summa festinatione uersus Norwicum iter arripias, et sepulchrum pueri nuper a iudeis occisi diligenter perquiras. Quo tandem inuento, et ego te duce prout potuero postmodum illuc uenire conabor, ubi et eiusdem sancti pueri meritis me sanari confido. Surgit pater et propero gressu Norwicum ueniens de memorato sciscitatur puero, sed nullam de huiuscemodi re percipere potuit certitudinem. Dumque ab uniuersis talem rem percunctaretur, aliquo insinuante ad aures iudeorum eiusmodi perlata est questio. Subito igitur exterriti timore, quia infamie

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mockery and scorn of the Lord's passion during this holy season. It is owing to his merits that thou shalt at his sepulchre obtain the recovery of thy health!"

At these words he was immediately lifted up and restored to his body; and when his spirit returned, in the sight of all who stood by a shudder passed over all his body, and to the amazement of all the supposed corpse appeared alive again. Soon recovering strength, after a while he opened his eyes, and calling to his father he expounded the whole vision in order as he had seen it. And when all present were astonished and wondering, he added saying, "Behold by the announcement of the angel that gave me the promise I am called back to the hope of recovery. Wherefore it is necessary, O father, that with utmost speed thou shouldst hurry to Norwich, and shouldst diligently seek out the sepulchre of the boy lately killed by the Jews; and when thou hast found it, I too under thy guidance will try to go there according as I am able, and then by the merits of that same holy boy I hope for recovery."

The father got up, and hastening with all speed to Norwich made enquiry concerning the boy that he had heard of; but he could get no certain information about any affair of the kind. But on his continuing to ask about it from everybody, the question by some means came to the ears of the Jews. Whereupon they were seized

sue sermonem renouari cernerent, turbabantur Christiani nominis hostes, atque iterum ut altera uice se et sua intra munitionem castelli contulerunt. Ipse autem qui puerum a iudeis occisum quesiturus nulla prorsus percepta certitudine, domum tristis et laboris fructu frustratus redire festinat. Denique domum ueniens se incassum laborasse et earum rerum quas quesierat nichil omnino esse explicat. Eger uero econtra illum negligentius quesisse atque ut dixerat omnia reuera ita esse constanter affirmat. Sicque ubi egritudinis sue remedium non sine dolore differri conspicit, omnem tamen salutis sue spem in expectationis defigens mora, pacienter interim tolerauit. Euolutis exinde paucis diebus eiusdem uille presbiter Norwicum abiit, quoniam sỳnodo que tunc temporis ibi fieri solebat presbiter ipse existens abesse non poterat. Sedens autem inter fratres compresbiteros inter cetera negotia ecclesiastica audiuit quendam Godwinum presbiterum super sanctissimi pueri Willelmi nece querela quemadmodum precedenti commemorauimus libro oratione concionantem. Quibus ille auditis non minima gauisus est leticia, quia hunc esse puerum cognoscit cuius

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with a sudden terror, because they perceived that the talk about their infamy was being renewed. The enemies of the Christian name were troubled, and again, as on the former occasion, they betook themselves and their belongings to the protection of the castle. The man himself, however, who had come to enquire about a boy slain by the Jews, having heard nothing certain and without any fruit of his toil, sad at heart, hastened home again. So when he got home he explained that he had taken all his trouble for nothing, and that there really was nothing in the story that he had enquired about. But the poor boy on the other hand kept constantly affirming that his father had made his enquiries in a negligent fashion, and that the facts were exactly as he himself had stated them. So when he perceived to his sorrow that the cure of his sickness was delayed, yet because he was persuaded that there was only a delay in his hope of deliverance, he submitted patiently in the meanwhile. But after the lapse of a few days, the priest of the same town went to Norwich, because being a priest he could not be absent from the Synod which was wont to be held there at that time of the year. There, seated among his fellow priests, he heard, among other ecclesiastical matters, the priest Godwin make his speech, complaining of the murder of the most holy boy William, as I have mentioned in the previous book. At the hearing of which he rejoiced with no small delight, because he perceived that this was the same boy whose

et necem hic inpresentiarum predicari audiat et unde domi prescriptus eger loqui solebat. Peracta tandem sȳnodo locum ubi iaceat sciscitatur; quo uiso et denotato domum gratulabundus reuertitur. Narrat egro presbiter que audierat uel uiderat, locumque quo illum sit inuenturus denuntiat. Quod audiens eger, resumptis paulisper et recreatis leticia uiribus, lectulo resedit, et iam quasi semirecepta gratulabatur salute. Contra nimirum imbecillitatis sue incommodum confortatiuum leticie opponebat antidotum. Quid multa? Crastino pater eius qualiter potuit ad illud gloriosi pueri uenerabile sepulchrum filium deportare curauit. Inter hec eger partum sibi salutis differri dolens remedium totus imbecillis uix corporis uiribus animum sequebatur, sed tamen animi uirtute incommodum superabat nature. Veniunt tandem Norwicum pater et filius, ac uersus siluam ad sepulchrum exoptatum conuertentes iter, quorundam relatu quos in itinere obuios habuerunt sanctum puerum Willelmum didicere iam inde fuisse translatum atque intra cimiterium monachorum sepulchro lapideo reconditum. Conuerso itaque itinere ad ecclesiam episcopalem tandem perueniunt, expositoque sacristis negotio ac desiderio

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murder he was now hearing announced, and about whom the sick lad at home was wont to talk. When the Synod was over, he enquired about the place where the slain was lying, and having seen and marked the place, he returned home congratulating himself. Then the priest told the sick man what he had heard and seen, and he pointed out the place where he was to be found. When the sufferer heard it, recovering for the moment his strength, which for very joy came back to him, he sat up in his bed, and rejoiced, as already half recovered; for against the grievous trouble of his weakness he was now setting the strengthening antidote of joy. Next day his father took care to transport his son in the best way he could to the glorious martyr's sepulchre. On the way, the sufferer grieved that the cure of his illness was still deferred, and, weak as he was, could hardly keep pace with his inclinations for all his earnestness, though with his spirit's resolution he was getting the better of the physical difficulties in his way. Father and son at last reached Norwich, and, directing their course towards the wood, and the grave they were in search of, learnt by the information they got from those whom they met on the way, that the holy boy William had been already translated thence, and was now buried in the Monks' cemetery in a stone sepulchre. Accordingly turning their steps to the cathedral, on

suo, eorum permissione sepulchro desiderato admitti meruerunt. Eger ergo quod tanto uoto tam diu concupierat consecutus nimia compunctus leticia erumpit in lacrimas, flexisque ad orationem genibus, deinde totus humi prouolutus, animam suam coram domino effudit. Inter crebros autem singultus et suspiria rogabat dominum uti si quam uiderat non fallax sed uera et efficax fuisset uisio, uisionis ueritate et sanitatis non fraudaretur promisso. Deinde conuersus ad sepulchrum sanctum puerum et martŷrem flagitabat, quem adeo sublimem et honoratum celo conspexerat. Eiusque se sanari postulabat meritis ad quem deprecandum angelicis inuitabatur promissis. Dumque in hunc modum preces effunderet, profusis genas rigabat lacrimis, et orationem piam protelabat deuotio. Interim diuina miserante gratia, uigore quodam se membratim infundente, membra sentiebat conualescere et ad subintrantis aduentum omnem paulatim excludi dolorem. Consummata tandem oratione, subita dei uirtute se sentit incolumem, et tam uelocem circa se admiratur salutem. Plurimum itaque gauisus, quam secum attulerat cum denario candelam

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their arrival there they explained their business to the sacrists, and with their permission they succeeded in being admitted to the sepulchre they were in search of. Thereupon the sick man, having obtained that which he had been desiring so long and with so much earnestness, overcome by excess of joy burst into tears; and falling on his knees in prayer and then prostrating himself upon the ground he poured out his whole soul to God. So with many sobs and sighs he kept asking the Lord that if the vision he had seen had been no false vision, but a true and real one, he might not be baulked of the cure that had been promised. Then turning to the sepulchre he besought the holy boy and martyr whom he had seen exalted and honoured in the heavens, and begged that by his merits he might be healed, to whom by the angel's promises he had been invited to address his prayers.

While he was pouring out his supplications in this manner, with his tears wetting his cheeks, and his fervour prolonging his prayer; lo! by the divine favour showing mercy to him, he felt that his limbs were beginning to be restored to him by reason of a strange vigour that began to work in all his members; and as this secret power began to work he felt that gradually all his pain was leaving him. When at length his prayer came to an end he felt himself whole, by a sudden exercise of the divine power, and he marvelled at the cure which in his case had been so rapid. Wherefore rejoicing exceedingly, he laid upon the sepulchre by way of offering the candle

oblationis ritu super sepulchrum ponit, et cum patre sospes ac gratulabundus abscessit. He beatissimo martyri Willelmo collate sunt oblationis primitie, quem gratie diuine bonitas talibus miraculorum primordiis glorificauit, et quem processu temporis multiplici uirtutum frequentia cuius ipse meriti sit ac sanctitatis mundo declarare uoluit.

v. *De consimili uisione cuiusdam puellule.*

ALIQVANTI postmodum temporis interiecto spatio per omnia fere consimilem cuidam uirgini uidisse contigit uisionem. Quas et si temporibus diuersis diuersos uidisse cognouimus, consimilitudinis tamen causa uisioni uisionem conferendo coniunximus. Dumque eas deuotis fidelium auribus explicare cupimus, nemo ueris me non uera cudere siue interkalare existimet, nemo nugarum uel mendatiorum compilatorem appellet. Nichil enim prorsus in uisionibus enarrandis interserere presumpsi nisi quod ipsorum uidentium relatu certissime cognoscere preualui. Erat igitur uirguncula quedam in uilla que dicitur Mulchebertune, etate quidem satis iuuencula, et pro uiribus etatis moribus et actu

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which he had brought with him, and a coin, and so along with his father he went his way healed and full of thankfulness.

These were the first-fruits of the offerings made to the most blessed William, whom the goodness of the divine favour glorified with such a beginning of miracles, and concerning whom in process of time He intended to declare to the world by a plentiful harvest of mighty works, of how great merit and holiness he was.

v. *Concerning a similar vision of a certain little girl.*

Some considerable time after this it came to pass that a certain damsel saw a vision nearly in all respects like the former. These two visions were seen by different persons and at different times; yet because of their similarity we have put them together for comparison. And while I am desirous to set them forth to the devout ears of the faithful, let no man think I am interpolating or passing off for true that which is untrue; let no man call me an inventor of trifles or falsehoods; for I have not presumed in telling the story of the visions to insert anything whatever except what I have been able to arrive at the most certain knowledge of by the relation of the seers themselves.

Well! there was a certain little damsel in a town called Mulbarton,

multum religiosa. Hec admirabilem in uisu noctis uisionem non sine nutu diuino uidere promeruit, quam ipsa postmodum nobis referre curauit. Videbam, inquit, uigilans pene siue dormiens nescio, deus scit, et ecce columba niue candidior mihi e celis aduolans coram me stetit et ait: Festinans egredere ac sequere me. Confestim ergo conuersa in columbam ego ipsam huc et illuc uidebar sequi preuiam. Nec mora, sinistrorsus conuerse in loca uenimus penalia, horroris ac luctus undique plena. Vbi fetor intolerabilis et inpenetrabiles horrebant tenebre, ubi ardor inextinguibilis et irremediabile rigebat frigus. Ibi totius priuatione boni quicquid malum, ibi labor et quies nulla, ibi dolor et intemperies semper con<f>usa. Hic turbam animarum conspexi innumeram, diuersis penarum subiectam cruciatibus. Quas dum uariata uicissitudine a penis ad penam conspicio rapi, animo nimirum consternata uehementer exhorrui. Quarum[1] cruciatuum multiplicitatem ac multiplicitatis perhennitatem dum mente recolo, tum doloris recordatione, tum pie miserationis impulsu, lacrimas continere non possum. Si autem uniuersa prout uidisse contigit referre concupisco, ad explicandum nequaquam sufficio.

[1] *sic.*

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and she was very religious for her age. This damsel by the divine favour was deemed worthy to see a wonderful vision in a dream by night, the which she herself afterwards took care to relate to me. "I saw" said she—"whether I was awake or asleep I cannot tell—God knoweth—and behold a dove whiter than snow flying forth from heaven, and it stood before me and said 'Hasten and come forth and follow me.' And I straightway changed into a dove, and seemed to be following her as she flew before me. And soon we turned to the left hand, and we arrived at the realms of punishment, all full of horror and mourning everywhere. There there was a stench unbearable and horrible darkness impenetrable, and a burning heat that could not be quenched, and cold that knew no remedy. There there was every kind of evil that comes of privation of all that is good. There there was toil and no rest, and grief and trouble combined. There too I saw an innumerable concourse of souls subjected to various torments, and they were hurried from one punishment to another by varying changes of suffering; and sorely aghast at heart I was dreadfully overcome by horror; and as I recall the number of these tortures and how long they lasted, I can scarce refrain from tears, partly from the remembrance of their agony and partly from the feeling of pity. But when I long to tell all that it was my hap to see, I lack the power to

Omnibus denique uisis, ducem sequens columbam, relictisque post tergum tartareis sedibus, alarum remigiis sursum feror, et pennigero uolatu celos penetrans ante tribunal dominicum cum columba duce et ego columba pariter consisto. Videbatur autem mihi uniuersorum conditor ac moderator dominus inter sanctorum choros maiestate presidere altissima. Cuius uisione gloriosa pascebantur angeli, cuius odore mirifico saciabantur omnes electi, cuius et radianti splendore illustrari uidebantur et celi. Cuius uestis admirabilis et preciosissima auro gemmisque erat inestimabilis mire circumtexta. Ad cuius dexteram gloriosa uirgo et mater assidebat Maria inenarrabili et admirando exornata uestitu. Ibi numerosus aderat angelorum exercitus, ibi congratulans sanctorum uniuersalis consistebat chorus. Inter quos et pariter consistentem ac deo ualde proximum specie quidem incomparabilem puerum conspexi. Huic maximus ab uniuersis deferebatur honor, huius facies decore admirabilis sole multo radiabat splendidior. Cuius uestis uesti dominice fere per omnia erat consimilis, colore scilicet, gemmis, et auro, tanquam si uestis de ueste recisa fuisset. Super quo ualde admirata, eoque maxime quod domino puerulum quali-

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set it forth. At last when I had seen all this, following the dove that led me, and leaving behind us the dwellings of the damned, by the stroke of my wings I was borne upwards, and in my flight I soared through the heavens; and lo! before the Lord's Judgment seat, I, as a dove with the dove that was my guide, both stopped. Then there appeared to me the Lord, the maker and ruler of the universe, and He sat in loftiest majesty among the choirs of the saints. The angels were feeding upon the glorious vision of Him, all the elect were joying in His marvellous sweetness, and the very heavens seemed to be illumined with His radiant brightness. His wondrous garment above all price was marvellously bordered with jewels and gold. At his right hand sat the glorious Virgin Mother Mary, adorned with a robe of unspeakable magnificence. There too was a mighty army of angels, and there doing her honour stood the whole multitude of saints. Among them and standing at her side, and very near to God, I saw a boy of quite incomparable beauty, and to him utmost honour was being paid by all. His face was strangely lovely and it shone much more brightly than the sun; and his garment was well nigh in all things like to the garment of the Lord, in hue and jewels and gold, as though the one garment had been cut from the other. At the which I wondered greatly, and so much the more as I observed the little boy made equal with the Lord in quality of his raiment; and, longing to know

tate habitus parificari cernerem, quisnam hic sit scire desiderans a duce columba querere non distuli. Et illa: Hic est, inquit, gloriosus puer et martŷr Willelmus, qui in dominice passionis derisum a iudeis olim occisus urbem Norwicensem suo perornauit martŷrio. Qua uero Christum mortis imitatus est passione, non dedignatus est Christus ipsum sibi et purpuree uestis parificari honore. Et facta est ad me uox de throno dicens: Vade, puellula, et huic quem cernis puero ac uirgini et tu uirgineum dum uixeris exhibere studeas famulatum. Hunc deuota dilige, ac uirginem uirgo perseuerans uenerare. Ipsum peculiarem habeto amicum, et fidissimum tibi senties aduocatum. Quibus auditis ac mente perceptis, duce preuia inde confestim abscedo, et loco unde ueneram restituta, priorem formam suscipio. Mane tandem expergefacta, uisionem illam gratissimam parentibus edixi, quorum consiliis huc adueniens eandem et uobis explicatura accessi. Quod audientes ac plurimum super hoc admirati, deum benedicere et glorificare cepimus, qui et incognita ad incrementum nostre reuelat deuotionis, sanctosque suos etiam pauperum glorificare non dedignatur testimoniis.

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who this could be, I did not hesitate to ask of the dove that was my guide. And she made answer: 'This,' she said, 'is the glorious boy-martyr William, who in Passion Week was a while ago slain by the Jews in mockery, and by his martyrdom has made illustrious the city of Norwich. Wherefore, because by that death and passion of his he has followed Christ, so Christ has not disdained to make him equal with Himself in the honour of his purple robe.' Then there came to me a voice from the throne saying: 'Go thy way, and while thou livest strive to show thyself a virgin follower of him whom thou beholdest, the virgin boy. Love him with all devotion and, preserving thy virginity, revere him who is virgin too. Count him thy peculiar friend, and know him to be thy most trusty advocate!'

"As I heard these words and pondered them in my mind, I with my guide going before me straightway departed thence, was restored to the place from whence I came, and assumed my former shape. At last in the morning I awoke, and I told that gracious vision to my parents; by whose advice I came here intending to make it known to you." When we heard this, wondering exceedingly, we began to bless and glorify God who makes known things unknown for the increase of our devotion, and deigns to glorify His saints even by the testimony of the lowly.

vi. *De pregnante mire liberata.*

EGREGIUM quoque illud miraculum quod primum illius esse didici sub prima miraculorum serie adnotandum iudicaui. Erat quippe mulier Botilda nomine Girardi qui coquus erat monachorum uxor, maximum erga beatum martŷrem deuotionis gerens amorem. Hec dum idem egregius puer et martŷr in cimiterio tumularetur post ceteros cum assisteret, quam feretro pedibus eius fidelis supposuerat deuotio, filicis partem tulit quam in posterum utpote sibi profuturam pio fidei ducta instinctu reseruare studuit. Cumque pauci subinde pertransissent dies, que pregnans erat laborare sub partu cepit. Vbi uero per dies quindecim magis ac magis dolor ingrauesceret, multisque adhibitis nil sibi proficientibus medicinis, tandem aquam reliquiarum benedictam hausisset, in aliquo necdum profecit. Cumque ad extremum uite peruenisse uideretur, angustiante nimis pressura doloris, oculos sursum leuauit, in dexteram et leuam lacertos extendit. Visum quoque pre angustia circumquaque se per singula cursim defleccente, subito memoratum filicis ramusculum parieti a latere dependentem conspexit, et assistentibus suis ait: Oh me infelicem, ac mei ipsius

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vi. *Concerning a woman with child miraculously delivered.*

That notable miracle which I have learnt was (St William's) first, I have thought fit to draw attention to in the first series of his miracles.

There was a certain woman named Botilda, the wife of Girard who was the Monks' cook: she had conceived a great and devout love for the blessed martyr. This woman, when the illustrious boy-martyr was buried in the cemetery, stayed behind after every one else, and took a piece of fern which the devotion of the faithful had put under the bier, at his feet; and led by a pious instinct she preserved it as likely to be a benefit to her in the time to come. And a few days after she, being with child, began to be in labour. But when for 15 days her agony went on from more to more, and though many medicines were given her which profited nothing, at last she even drank the water of certain relics which had been blessed, and not even so was she any the better. And when at last she seemed to have come to her last hour, in the extremity of her pain she raised her eyes to heaven, and stretched out her arms to right and left and rolled her eyes in every way in agony; and lo! she saw the little sprig of fern hanging on the wall beside her; and she said to those that were stand-

oblitam. Obliuione mei salutem propriam ipsa retardaui. Festinanter iam illum filicis accipite ramum, et aqua distemperatum benedicta michi bibendum tradite. Quo peracto, tenens calicem ait: Gloriose puer et martŷr Willelme, quanti apud deum sis meriti in presentiarum declarare digneris, et misertus famule tue periclitantis piissimam uirtutis tue super me dexteram extendas. His dictis, quod erat in cifo totum exhausit. Mira uelocitas, miraque rerum congruentia! De superioribus sensim potus descendebat in uentrem, et ab inferioribus paulatim puer de uentre prodibat in lucem. Sicque actum est, ut reuera dici possit: Ille est introductus ut iste prodiret exclusus. Liberata tandem mulier omnipotenti deo gratulabunda gratias egit qui per gloriosi martŷris Willelmi sui gloriosa merita ipsam sub instanti ab instantis pressura periculi tam efficaciter liberauit.

vii. *De uirgine quadam de Dunewiz a demonis incubi infestatione liberata.*

EXCURSO postmodum aliquanto dierum interuallo, in uilla que Dunewiz dicitur uirgo fuit ab ineunte euo deum diligens, carnis illecebras calcans, et celibem uitam appetens. Hec a plurimis

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ing by, "Oh unhappy that I am! how forgetful I have been! I have delayed my own deliverance! Make haste and take that sprig of fern and steep it in holy water and give it me to drink!" Which when they had done, holding the cup she cried "Oh boy-martyr William, vouchsafe to show at this time in how great esteem thou art with God, and pitying thy servant in her extremity stretch forth the right hand of thy power over me!" With these words she drained the contents of the cup. With wondrous and quick effect the drink passed into her belly, and soon a son from her womb came forth into the light! And so it came to pass that in very truth it might be said that the one was taken in that the other might be sent forth. So at length the woman being delivered with joy gave thanks to Almighty God who by the glorious merits of His glorious martyr William, had effectually freed her in an instant from the pressure of an instant peril.

vii. *Concerning a certain virgin of Dunwich delivered from the persecution of a devilish Incubus.*

Some time after this, in a town called Dunwich, there was a certain maiden who from a very early age had had in her the love of God, had trodden under foot the lusts of the flesh, and had a desire for the

petebatur ad nuptias, tum quia specie corporis erat formosissima, tum quia ditissimis parentibus cernebatur exorta. Verum quot habuit, in proposito constans, tot et spreuit. Morabatur quippe thalamo patris inclusa, ubi psalmos quos didicerat diebus ac noctibus solitaria ruminabat. Nichil prorsus amare poterat nisi deum, ad quem totis uisceribus suspirabat. Piis diabolus inuidit studiis, unde ut illam de propositi deiceret culmine satellitem misit iniquitatis. Vnus igitur eorum quos faunos dicunt et incubos, ad luxum procliues ac sepe mulieribus insolentes, se in formam pulcherrimi transfigurans iuuenis ad illam inopinus intrauit et repentinus apparuit. Expauit uirgo solius aduentum uiri solitaria pertimescens. Salutauit ille, resalutatus consedit. Mentitur se esse quod non erat ut adipisceretur quod affectabat. Mentitur se conditione militem, parentela generosum, uirtute ac forma pollentem, diuitiis et largitate precipuum. Ad hec uirgo simplex et pudibunda siluit, et humi intendens lumina clausit. Et ille: Gratanter attendas, gratissima mihi puella. Castitatis tue fama et elegantie forma meis iam pridem insonuit auribus. His amorem

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celibate life. She was sought in marriage by many; not only because she was very beautiful in person, but because it was known that her parents were very rich. But, however many were her suitors, she was so constant in her purpose that she rejected them all. So she continued to dwell in her father's house, where she lived a solitary life repeating day and night the psalms she had learnt. She cared for nothing but God, to whom she poured forth her desires with all her heart. The devil grudged her these pious yearnings; wherefore, in order that he might cast her down from the pinnacle of her purpose, he sent against her a messenger of evil. Wherefore one of those beings whom they call *Fairies* and *Incubi*, who are prone to lust and are often the seducers of women, changing himself into the form of a very beautiful young man, came to where she was and suddenly appeared before her. The maiden in her loneliness, scared by the coming of a single young man, was much frightened. He saluted her and, being acknowledged in return, he took a seat. He pretended to be what he was not that he might accomplish his purpose. He pretended that he was of knightly rank and of gentle blood, and he had the appearance of one endowed with merit and beauty, and rich and bountiful. Yet the maiden simple and modest held her peace, and with her face turned to the ground she closed her eyes. But the other spake saying: "O maiden to me so full of grace, be graciously pleased to hearken to me! The fame of your chastity, and the beauty of your form have for long been sounding in my ears.

concepi, et que fama dictauerat uidere ueni. Ecce iam uisa places: quod restat, coniugium ineamus. Quid in hac uita amore dulcius, amore iocundius? Ad amorem nos inuitant mutuum hinc etas utriusque iuuenilis, inde forma consimilis. Si par pari coniungitur, amicitia gratior habetur. Quis sim ignoras: paucis edicam. Omnibus nobilitate et pulchritudine precello: uniuersos sapientia et uirtute supero: cunctis diuitiarum copia prehabundo. Atque ut uerbis fidem faciam, si tantummodo assensum prebeas, mox te tot ac tantis ditabo donis quot et quantis tua nunquam habundauit parentela. Tunc continuo anulos, monilia, torques, lunulas, inaures, atque huiuscemodi multa, protulit et optulit dicens: Hec interim gratanter accipias, mihi gratissima, mihi desiderantissima, postmodum plura et preciosiora pro libito susceptura. Quod ad hec uirgo faciat? Qualiter his sexus fragilitas resistat? Aures feriunt eximie laudis preconia: oculos alliciunt multiplicis precii donaria: mentem deliniunt diuitiarum et facultatum promissa. Verum inter hec persistit animus in Christo fortis et illibatus. Animum enim temptationum fluctibus exagitatum amor Christi regebat. Surgit igitur uirgo, donaria respuit, precibus non assentit. Quid

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So a longing seized me, and I have come to see her whose fame had reached me. Verily the sight of you delights me. What remains but that we should be married? What is sweeter or more joyous than love? The youthful age of both of us and the beauty that we both possess invites us to an interchange of love. If like be joined to like, friendship is accounted the more fitting. You know not who I am—I will tell you in few words. I excel all men in nobleness and beauty, I surpass all in wisdom and virtue. I am better supplied than all other in the abundance of my riches; and that I may prove my words, if only you give your assent, straightway I will endow you with such immense gifts as your parents never yet possessed." Thereupon he produced rings, necklaces, collars, brooches, earrings and many things of the kind, and he offered them to her saying: "Be graciously pleased to accept these things now, my dearest, my most desired one; by and bye you shall have more and more precious things according to your wishes." What could a maiden do? How could the weaker sex resist these things? The blandishment of this high-flown praise made her ears tingle; the presents of great value delighted her eyes; the promises of riches and power were influencing her mind, but in the midst of it all her soul continued steadfast in Christ and unmoved, and though that soul was tossed upon the waves of temptation, the love of Christ still ruled within her. So the maiden rose, she rejected the gifts, she

ergo? Spretus ac uictus malignus hostis cum donariis ut subitus uenerat et subitus disparuit. Sepissime tamen tum diebus tum noctibus rediens replicat antedicta, offert plurima, promittit infinita. Vestes sericas, micantes gemmas, aurum, argentum, et quod preciosius uel pulchrius in mundi gloria excogitari potest ante illam congerit, eique ad libitum uniuersa proponit. Hec frequenter reiterans, sed incassum semper laborans iam ampliori cepit insistere pertinatia. Puella uero sibi consulens, et suspectam precauens uiolentiam, parentibus totum rei geste propalauit negotium. Qui quoniam nullum ad illam intrasse reuera cognouerant eumque cotidie ingredientem audiebant, demonem esse conitiunt, quem in aduentu tam subitum et in dicessu tam repentinum puella narrante didicerunt. Parentes autem diligentiam adhibent, custodes assignant. Ille uero nec arceri custodiis nec excludi potuit seris. Porro illam tunc uiolentius aggreditur ut uiolentia sibi subdat, quam nec blandiciis nec donis nec promissionibus circumuenire preualebat. A parentibus ergo consuluntur presbiteri, misse celebrantur, orationibus incumbitur, elemosine distribuuntur. Thalamus aqua respergitur benedicta, ante stratum illius crux sancta

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refused his offers. What next? Scorned and vanquished, the malignant foe with all his gifts disappeared as suddenly as he came. Yet returning, he plied her as before night and day, he offered her more and more, his promises were boundless. Silken robes all glistening with gems, silver and gold, and whatever can be imagined most precious and fair in the glory of this world he heaped up before her and offered them all. He persisted continually in his offers, but labouring always in vain, he began to ply her with increasing pertinacity. But the maiden taking counsel with herself, and fearing violence which she suspected, acquainted her parents with the whole business. They, because they knew that nobody had really had access to her chamber, and yet heard this visitor coming in daily, conjectured that it must be an evil spirit whose sudden appearance and as sudden departure the maiden's narrative had described. So the parents used all diligence and set watches. But as for him he could neither be kept out by guards, nor be shut out by locks and bars, and now he began to assail her the more violently that so he might by violence subdue her whom he could not overcome by flattery nor gifts nor promises. Whereupon some priests were consulted. Masses were celebrated, prayers were said, alms were distributed. They sprinkled her chamber with holy water, a cross was set up before her bed, and

defigitur. Vniuersis iam innotuerat demonem esse qui sic eam infestabat. Vnde et diuinis repellere sacramentis attemptabant contra quem humana nil consilia profecerant. Demon autem, qui heri et nudius tercius interpolatis ingrediebatur horis, exinde uiolentior institit eamque indiuiduus frequentauit. Presertim diuina pietas que suis semper presens adest fidelibus, et ne temptationibus absorbeantur prouidet, puelle fortiter agonizanti salutare prestitit solatium. Quadam enim nocte usque ad uite tedium fatigata dum obdormiret, in somnis illi astitit uir canitie ueneranda conspicuus et indumentis pontificalibus super amictus dicens: Filia mea, et deo grata puella, meum non uerearis aduentum: tue salutis attende nuntium. Cum hoste maligno decertasti, multa pertulisti, uiriliter uicisti. Tue iam corona debetur castitati, et brauium certamini. Verum, ut a cotidiane infestationis libereris molestia, mane cum tribus cereis et utroque parente Norwicum uade, sanctique martyris Willelmi a iudeis occisi sepulchrum exquire. Idque pro certo habeas, quod cum inde redieris optate solatium percipies liberationis. Ego sum inquam HERBERTUS episcopus, Norwicensis ecclesie fundator, qui et salutis tue tibi

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soon it was known to all that it was an evil spirit who was infesting her, so that they tried to drive him away by the divine sacraments when no human means did any good. But the evil spirit, who at first made his advances at the interval of a day or two, now became more and more pressing, and now was always close to her. However, the divine goodness, which is always nigh at hand to His faithful ones, and takes care that they should not be overwhelmed by temptations, brought about a saving comfort for the damsel so sorely troubled. For one night while she was asleep, almost worried to death, there stood by her in the visions of the night one of reverend look with white hair and robed in pontifical garments, who said to her: "Daughter mine, and damsel dear to God, fear not at my coming, but give heed to the messenger of thy salvation. Thou hast striven with a malignant foe, thou hast borne much, thou hast vanquished nobly. Thou hast earned a crown by thy chastity, and a prize by thy resistance. But that thou mayest be free from the trouble of thy daily temptation, in the morning go thou to Norwich with three wax tapers and both thy parents with thee, and seek out the sepulchre of the holy martyr William, slain by the Jews; and take this for certain that when thou shalt have thence returned thou shalt receive the comfort of the deliverance thou desirest. I am, I tell thee, HERBERT the bishop, the founder of the Church of Norwich, who am the messenger to thee of thy salvation. Rise up!

nuntius assisto. Surge, uade, liberaberis. Quid multa? Disparuit uisio et excitatur uirgo. Surgitur: parentibus uisa propalatur. Fiunt cerei: Norwicum itur: ad episcopalem uenitur ecclesiam. Ibi Wichemanno monacho episcopalium confessionum tunc uicario, et nonnullis monachorum, quibus perurgeretur molestiis edicitur, uisio et uie causa declarantur. Audientes audatiam mirantur demonis, monita suscipiunt paterne uisionis. Accensis igitur quos attulerat cereis, ducitur cum parentibus uirgo ad Sancti Willelmi sepulchrum in ingressu cimiterii diuo expositum. Ibi aliquandiu ad deum oratur, sancto martŷri preces et uota funduntur. Lacrime celos penetrant, ut pietatis rorem celi effundant. Quid igitur? Choercetur hostis malitia et circa uirginem uirtus claruit diuina. Iam enim spem concipiens, cum parentibus secura regreditur et de cohercita demonis instantia plurimum gratulatur. Hoc quippe miraculo beati martyris Willelmi reuiuixit memoria, que paulatim decrescens, in cordibus uniuersorum fere funditus iam fuerat emortua. Porro diligentem ammonitum uolo lectorem ut scilicet

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Go thy way! Thou shalt be set free!" The vision passed and the maiden awoke. She rose and told her parents what she had seen. The tapers were made, they took their way to Norwich, they arrived at the episcopal church. There the vision was told to Wicheman, a monk who at that time was the Bishop's deputy for hearing confessions[1], and to other monks; and it was shown by what importunity she was pressed, and the cause of her journey was explained. When they heard it they marvelled at the evil spirit's audacity, they gave heed to the warnings of the gracious vision; and, the tapers being lit, the maiden, with her parents, was led to St William's sepulchre, then set up in the open air, at the entrance of the cemetery. There they spent some time in prayer to God: they made their supplications and vows to the holy martyr. Their tears travelled heavenward, and so the heavens poured forth the dew of pity. Thus the malice of the enemy was restrained, and divine virtue beamed upon the maiden; for now full of hope she went home with her parents feeling quite safe, and received many congratulations on the evil spirit's assaults having been overcome. Assuredly by this miracle the memory of the blessed martyr William revived, for it had gradually been waning, yea in the hearts of almost all it had almost entirely died out. I would fain that the earnest reader be admonished

[1] See Blomfield, II. 363. Ingulf the Prior who signs before Wickman, in a deed there given, was William Turbe's predecessor, and Wickman seems to have been appointed by Bishop Eborard. Cf. Bk. I. viii. p. 30.

ex pretaxatis perpendat quante uirtutis merito pie memorie HERBERTUS episcopus coram deo polleat, qui et diuine dispensationis tam secretus fieri mereatur nuntius, et sancte Norwicensis ecclesie quam ipse fundauit tam diligens sit patronus.

viii. *Commonitorium illis qui miraculis sancti Willelmi derogant et qui eum a iudeis occisum uel negant uel dubitant.*

CLARESCENTIBUS itaque per beati Willelmi merita miraculorum primitiis, erant plurimi qui diuinis uel beneficiis ingrati uel signis increduli cum promulgarentur miraculis insultabant, eaque ficticia esse dicebant. Quippe duri corde et ad credendum tardi, beatum puerum Willelmum nullius fore meriti post mortem autumabant, quem in uita pauperculum atque neglectum fuisse audierant. Sunt et alii, qui quoniam eum puerulum pauperculum pannosum atque arte pelliparia utcumque uictitantem cognouerant, despectu habent. Vnde et talem quasi nullis precedentibus meritis tanti culminis attigisse excellentiam nullatenus credere possunt. Sunt etiam nonnulli, qui et hunc qualemcunque crudeliter tamen interemptum uel oculis uiderunt, uel ab aliis audiunt, uel scriptis presentibus legunt et tamen aiunt: De morte

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that he note, from what has been set down, what great influence Bishop HERBERT of pious memory has with God, who deserved to be made the secret messenger of a divine dispensation, and how earnest a patron he is of the Church of Norwich which he himself founded.

viii. *A warning to those who make light of the miracles of St William, and who either deny or doubt that he was slain by the Jews.*

When these firstfruits of the miracles wrought by the merits of the blessed William were brought to light, there were many, ungrateful for the divine benefits or the signs shown, who mocked at the miracles when they were made public, and said that they were fictitious. Yea these, hard and slow of heart to believe, suggested that the blessed boy William was likely to be of no special merit after his death, who they had heard was a poor neglected little fellow when alive. Others there are who, because they had known him as a poor ragged little lad picking up a precarious livelihood at his tanner's business, think scorn of him; and so can by no means believe that such an one, with no previous merits, should have attained to such eminent excellence. And there are some too who, though they saw with their own eyes that he, whatever he was, was cruelly murdered, or heard of it with their ears, or read of it in this present record, yet say: "We are indeed certain of

quidem illius certi sumus, sed a quibus et quare et qualiter occisus sit prorsus in incerto fluctuamus; unde nec sanctum nec martirem dicere presumimus. Et quoniam pena martirem non facit, sed causa, si a iudeis uel aliis penaliter constet occisum, quis indubitanter credat uiuentem illum pro Christo mortem appetisse, uel pro Christo illatam pacienter sustinuisse? His omnibus pariter, sed tamen singulis singillatim respondemus. Primis igitur, qui miraculis insultant, qui ficticia autumant, et sanctificatum non credunt, quoniam pauperculum fuisse audiunt, respondemus. Fatemur equidem quoniam, ficticia miracula miracula non sunt, sed [sed] falsitatis sunt ridicula. Verum sancti Willelmi miracula, si non essent uera, nequaquam tam diutina perdurarent frequentia. Profecto si diuine dignationis hoc opus non esset per se citius iam deperisset. Nempe uidimus quam plurimos uariis per multum tempus laborantes incommodis, cecos, mutos, surdos, claudos, incuruos, contractos, scabellarios, turgidos, ydropsicos, ulcerosos, gutturnosos, furibundos, aliosque multos utriusque sexus diuersis languoribus morbidos sancti martiris Willelmi meritis curatos. Sepissime etiam uidimus,

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his death, but we are entirely uncertain and doubtful by whom and why, and how he was killed. So we neither presume to call him a saint nor a martyr. And since it is not the pain but the cause that makes the martyr, if it be proved that he was killed in punishment by Jews or any one else, who could confidently believe that this lad courted death for Christ's sake, or bore it patiently for Christ's sake when it was inflicted upon him?" To all these equally and to each severally we will make answer.

Therefore to the first, who mock at the miracles and count them fictitious and who do not believe that he was a Saint because they hear that he was a little pauper boy, we answer: We quite allow that fictitious miracles are no miracles at all, but the absurdities of falsehood; but the miracles of Saint William if they had not been true ones would certainly not have lasted for so long a time and been so frequent. Indeed, if this had not been the work of the divine goodness, they would have come to an end soon enough. But we have seen full many people labouring under various inconveniences, blind, dumb, deaf, lame, hump-backed, bent, going on all fours[1], people with swellings, with the dropsy, with ulcers and wens, mad people and many others of both sexes diseased with every sort of complaint, cured by the merits of the holy martyr William. We have too very often seen many folk in extreme

[1] *scabellarius* is one who creeps about, using a pair of small trestles to support his hands.

inuocato eiusdem sancti suffragio, plerosque in angustiis positos liberari, naufragos plures saluari, quosdam compedibus astrictos relaxari, et nonnullos nexibus ferreis manicatos absolui. Tot igitur ac tanta miracula qua fronte asseramus diuinitus non esse patrata? Item: Qui pauperes et neglectos sanctificari non credunt, audiant quod per prophetam dicitur: *Spiritus domini super me, euangelizare pauperibus misit me.* Pauper ipse Christus, non habens ubi caput reclinaret, pauperes ad apostolatum uocauit, non diuites; debiles, non fortes; idiotas, non mundi sapientes; innocentia pueros, non malitia senes. Nunc igitur, quoniam primis sat dixisse uidemur, ad alios transeamus qui puerulum eum uilem, pannosum, atque pauperculum uiderunt, uidentes uilipenderunt, uilipendentes ad tante illum uenerationis excellentiam pertingere non debuisse aiunt ubi nulla merita precesserunt. His respondemus: Si ad sanctificationis repudium puericia in causa est, et nos illis pueros proponimus Pancratium, Pantaleonem, et Celsum, quos in etate puerili Christus ad coronam sullimauit martirii. Atque ipse dominus in medio discipulorum paruulum statuit, talesque regno celorum aptos fore assignauit. Si autem uilitas aut

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dangers delivered after invoking the intercession of this same Saint. We know that many were saved from shipwreck, some who were bound in fetters were unloosed, and some were set free from iron bands. So many and such great miracles as these how could we have the face to say were not wrought by divine power?

As for those who do not believe that the poor and the neglected are made saints of, let them hear the words of the Prophet: "*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, he hath sent me to preach good tidings to the poor.*" Christ Himself was poor, He had not where to lay His head. He called poor men to be apostles, not the rich; the weak, not the strong; the foolish, not the wise of this world; those that were children in innocence, not old in malice and wickedness.

Now then, since we have said enough to the first, let us pass on to the others, they who saw that poor little ragged boy, and as they saw him held him cheap, and so say that it was not meet that such as he should attain to such a pitch of veneration, when no previous merits had distinguished him.

To these I reply: If his boyhood is reason enough for rejecting his holiness, we remind them of those boys Pancratius, Pantaleon, and Celsus, whom Christ exalted to the martyr's crown in their boyhood. Moreover the Lord Himself set a little child in the midst of His disciples and told them that such as he would be fit for the kingdom of

pauperies in causam ducitur, quid est quod dominus ut confunderet fortia uilia huius mundi et abiecta elegit, et ad cenam suam pauperes ac debiles, cecos et claudos euocauit? Lazarum quoque in sinum Abrahe sustulit, et diuitem purpuratum in inferno sepeliuit. Denuo si hoc in causa esse dicant, quod ad sanctificationis meritum merita nulla precesserint, innocentes opponimus biennes et infra, quos non uite meritum extulit, sed sola diuina gratia glorificauit. Terciis denique respondemus, eis scilicet qui crudeliter quidem occisum sciunt, sed quoniam a quibus et quare interemptus sit incerti sunt, iccirco nec sanctum nec martirem dicere presumunt. Pro certo siquidem a iudeis peremptum asserimus, quoniam id tum ex habitudine dierum penalium, tum ex qualitate tormentorum, tum ex certis uulnerum indiciis, tum ex uerissimis testimoniorum argumentis certum habemus. Et quia eos hoc in dominice passionis et christiane legis obprobrium reuera perpetrasse cognouimus, sic facti ueritatem argumentis plurimis comprobamus.

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heaven. But if his low estate, and his poverty, is thought to be a cause for his rejection, why is it that the Lord "*chose the weak things of the world to confound the mighty,*" and called to supper the poor and the needy, the blind and the lame, and He took up Lazarus into Abraham's bosom and buried the rich man clad in purple in hell? And again, if they say that this is against him that no previous merits gave any evidence of his deserving sanctification, I point to the Innocents of two years old and under, whom no previous merits distinguished in life, but only the grace of God glorified.

Finally to the third class—those namely who allow that he was cruelly killed, but who are uncertain by whom and why he was made an end of, and therefore do not presume to affirm that he was either a saint or a martyr—I answer, We hold of a certainty that he was slain by the Jews, because it is proved as well by their custom on the day of the Passover, as by the character of the tortures inflicted and the sure marks of the wounds, and also by unmistakable proofs in the way of evidence. And because we know that these Jews in very truth perpetrated this crime in scorn of the Lord's Passion and the Christian law, so can we prove the truth of the deed by many arguments.

ix. *Primum argumentum.*

PRIMO igitur loco in argumentum ueri proponimus quod seducta matre traditus traditori puerulus ad iudeos ut prelibatum est pridie mortis eius multis cernentibus diuertit, neque postmodum cuiquam foris apparuit. Itidem puella eius consanguinea eum a longe subsequens, iterque illius oculis explorans, et ad iudeos intrare et post intrantem statim hostium claudi certissime conspexit.

Secundum argumentum.

PRODUCATUR et aliud planissimum uere assertionis argumentum. Eo enim tempore atque ea ipsa die, immo et ipsa hora, qua puer Willelmus in obprobrium reuera Christi penaliter torquebatur, illudebatur, et crucifigebatur, muliercula quedam christiana que illis famulabatur, ab eisdem iussa feruentem aquam in coquina seorsum preparabat, ignorans quidem negotium, sed negotii plane audiens tumultum. Deintro autem acclamantibus: Aquam, aquam, mulier feruentissimam attulit, petentibus ministrauit. Sed dum deforis illa traderet ac deintus illi susciperent,

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ix. *The First Argument.*

In the first place we put forward as an argument of the truth, that, when his mother was deceived and the little boy handed over to the traitor, as has already been said; then on the day before his death he went among the Jews in the sight of many people, and after that no one saw him outside the door. Moreover the little girl, his kinswoman, who followed him at a distance and watched him on his way with her eyes, saw him go in to the Jews and after his entrance actually saw the door shut close behind him.

The Second Argument.

Another very strong argument may be brought of the truth of the assertion. For at the very time and the very day and even the very hour when the boy William was being tortured in mockery of Christ's execution, and was being put to shame and crucified; a certain poor Christian woman, who was a maid-servant among them, was getting ready some boiling water in the kitchen as she had been bidden; she did not know what the business was, but she plainly heard the hubbub that was going on. But when those who were inside kept calling out "Water! water!" she brought them the water boiling hot. But while she was handing it in from outside and they were taking it in, she

hostio interaperto puerum posti affixum, quia duobus non potuit, oculo uno uidere contigit. Quo uiso exhorruit factum; clausit oculum, et illi hostium. Quid igitur? Intro iudei tum ad sanguinem profluentem reprimendum tum ad uulnera claudenda, puerum illa feruenti aqua perfundebant; extra mulier anxia quid ageret deliberabat. Nunc execrans factum propalare disponit negotium. Nunc se pacto iudeis obnoxiam retractans, ne famulatus sui donatiuum deperdat, propalandi affectum refrenat. Dumque sic an reuelet an taceat dubia decernit, tandem terror interueniens reuelandi ausum compescuit. Se etenim solam christianam inter tot iudeos mansitantem considerans, ne quandoque consimile apud illos incurrat infortunium ualde pertimescit. Quid enim aliud ea tempestate coniciat, nisi quia iudei si illam secreti sui consciam sciant, illudque reuelare uolentem percipiant, ad illius necem quamtotius aspirent, totamque suspicionis ac timoris molestiam morte unius funditus extinguant? His permota mulier, suam in silentio salutem estimans, ad tempus siluit, seque facti ignaram simulauit. Iudei autem circa uesperam, cum corpus iam exanime secretiori recondissent[1] loco, et tanquam huiusmodi nichil egerint

[1] *sic.*

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through the chink of the door managed to see the boy fastened to a post. She could not see it with both eyes, but she did manage to see it with one. And when she had seen it, with horror at the sight she shut that one eye and they shut the door. Well, the Jews inside kept pouring the hot water upon the boy to stop the flow of blood and to close up the wounds, and the woman outside was anxiously considering what she should do. At one time the horrible crime urged her to disclose the business, and then, remembering that she was bound to the Jews, she was kept from telling lest she should lose her wages for her service. While she was thus hesitating whether she should make the disclosure or keep silence, at last her fear of revealing the matter prevailed. For, reflecting that she was the only Christian living among so many Jews, she was dreadfully afraid lest at some time she should come by similar treatment at their hands. For she guessed that, if the Jews knew that she was mistress of their secret and should perceive that she wanted to reveal it, they would conspire to put her to death, and would utterly get rid of all the trouble of suspicion and fear by her death. For these reasons, the woman, thinking that her safety lay in her silence, held her tongue for awhile and pretended that she knew nothing about the matter. But the Jews, when in the evening they had hid away the lifeless body in a secret place, and had gone home again as if they had

domum reparassent, undique hostiorum patefactus est introitus, ac liber deinceps cuilibet datus est accessus. Memorata ergo mulier, mox ut liberum habuit ingressum, intrauit et circa frequens satagere cepit ministerium. Dum uero ad hec et ad illa huc uel illuc se ageret, in secessu zonam pueri reperit et a zona dependentem cum artanulo uaginam et acus et thecam. Deinde secura circumspiciens, certa rei geste notauit inditia. Postmodum uero nobis et zonam cum rebus memoratis ostendit, et in domus prefate postibus martirii signa demonstrauit.

x. *Tercium argumentum.*

ARGUMENTIS duobus et tercium adnectimus, ut rei geste ueritatem efficatius comprobemus. Succedente aliquanto post mortem beati Willelmi dierum interuallo, dum iudei super illius nece criminaliter impeterentur, calumpniam quam incurrerant omnimodis uel extinguere uel ad tempus subterfugere satagebant. Ea propter Robertum fratrem occisi pueri, tunc equidem clericum, sed monachum postea nostrum, cui accusationis negotium maxime incumbebat, precibus ac precio conueniunt, sed ad pacificum

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done nothing of the sort, threw open their doors, and free entrance was granted to any that came. So the woman aforesaid, as soon as she had admission, began to be very busy with her household work, and while she was bustling about here and there at this and that, she found a boy's girdle, and hanging from the girdle a little penknife with its sheath, and a style and a satchel[1]. Then looking round carefully she recognized the certain proof of what had happened. And afterwards she brought to us and showed us the girdle with the other things, and pointed out to us on the timbers of the house the marks of the martyrdom.

x. *The Third Argument.*

To the aforesaid two arguments we now add a third, that we may prove more effectively the truth of the story.

When an interval of some days had elapsed after the death of the blessed martyr, while the Jews were being charged with his murder, they took all pains by all means to free themselves from the accusation they had incurred, or at any rate to escape from it for a time.

Wherefore they resorted with prayers and money to Robert the brother of the murdered boy, who was then a clerk, but subsequently one of our monks, and to whom the business of the accusation was

[1] *Or* some needles, and a case.

pactionis emolumentum eum aliquatenus pertrahere non potuerunt. I[s]dem quoque nobis super hoc ipso secum conferentibus referre solitus erat, quod de iudeis decem marcas habere potuisset si calumpniam de nece fratris unde impetebantur quietam acclamaret.

Quartum argumentum.

PROPONATUR et aliud ueritatis argumentum, unde nequitia confutetur iudeorum. Ea tempestate qua Regis Stephani florebat regnum, immo iusticia languente degenerabat, dum apud Norwicum coram rege miles quidam de morte cuiusdam iudei a iudeis accusaretur, uice militis Willelmus Norwicensis episcopus sufficienter perorauit, sicut in consequentibus declarabitur. Tandem igitur, dum iudeo christianum et morti mortem opposuit, totam in iudeos causam translatiue retorsit. Ea propter rex utrique parti dilationis terminum assignat, ut aput Lundonias coram Anglie clero et baronibus de tam graui causa plene discutiat. Totius igitur Anglie iudei plurimum consternati, uenienti Lundonias ad statutum diem Norwicensi episcopo iudeorum omnium primores

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chiefly entrusted; but they could not by any means bring him to any peaceful settlement. This same man often told me in conversation that he could have had ten marks from the Jews if he had hushed up the charge concerning his brother's murder, with which they were impeached.

The Fourth Argument.

Let another argument be brought forward, whereby the wickedness of the Jews may be shown.

In the time when the reign of King Stephen was flourishing, or rather, in the decline of justice, was languishing, a certain knight at Norwich, in the presence of the king, was accused by the Jews of the murder of a certain Jew; and William, Bishop of Norwich, representing the knight, made an able speech, as will be shown in what follows. So it came to pass that he, by opposing a Christian to a Jew, and setting the death of one against the death of the other, retorted the whole charge upon the Jews. So the king appointed a set time for both parties to settle the difference, to the intent that there might be a full discussion of so important a cause at London before the clergy and baronage of England. Wherefore, the Jews of all England being greatly alarmed, when the Bishop of Norwich came to London on the day appointed, the chief men among the Jews went to him and offered

occurrunt; pecunie quamplurimum offerunt, querele de iudeo occiso renuntiant, causam de obiectione occisi christiani omnimodis relaxari exorant. Sed presulis animus, deum timens et fame sue consulens, nec precibus emolliri nec auaritia potuit corrumpi. Perpendat queso ex his dubitantium incredulitas; quoniam iudei talia non facerent, nec tanta promitterent si se crimine obiecto immunes presentissent.

xi. *Quintum argumentum.*

IN argumentum quoque fidei ac ueritatis interserimus quod a Theobaldo, quondam iudeo et monacho postmodum <nostro?> referente audiuimus. Referebat quidem in antiquis patrum suorum scriptis scriptum haberi, iudeos sine sanguinis humani effusione nec libertatem adipisci nec ad patrios fines quandoque regredi. Vnde ab ipsis antiquitus decretum est omni anno eos in obprobrium et contumeliam Christi christianum ubicunque terrarum deo litare altissimo, ut sic suas in illum ulciscantur iniurias cuius mortis causa ipsi et a sua exclusi sunt patria et tanquam serui exulant

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a large sum of money, and besought him that the counter-charge of the Christian said to be slain might be dropped, and undertook to withdraw their complaint regarding the Jew who was slain. But the God-fearing mind of the Bishop, who had his own reputation in view, could neither be softened by their prayers nor corrupted by avarice.

Let the unbelief of doubters, I beg, draw their conclusions from these facts; since the Jews would not have acted thus, nor would they have promised so much, if they had felt themselves guiltless of the charge brought against them.

xi. *The Fifth Argument.*

As a proof of the truth and credibility of the matter we now adduce something which we have heard from the lips of Theobald, who was once a Jew, and afterwards a monk. He verily told us that in the ancient writings of his fathers it was written that the Jews, without the shedding of human blood, could neither obtain their freedom, nor could they ever return to their fatherland. Hence it was laid down by them in ancient times that every year they must sacrifice a Christian in some part of the world to the Most High God in scorn and contempt of Christ, that so they might avenge their sufferings on Him; inasmuch as it was because of Christ's death that they had been shut out from their own country, and were in exile as slaves in a foreign

in aliena. Qua de re principes et rabite iudeorum qui Hispaniam inhabitant apud Narbonam, ubi semen regium et eorum maxime uiget gloria, pariter conueniunt, atque uniuersarum regionum quas iudei inhabitant sortes ponunt. Quam uero sors designauerit regionem, eius metropolis urbium ceterarum et oppidorum sortes applicabit, atque illud decretale explebit negotium cuius sors exierit. Eo autem anno quo gloriosum dei martirem Willelmum constat occisum, sortem Norwicensibus contigit euenire, atque uniuersa iudeorum Anglie conuenticula scriptis uel nunciis patrando apud Norwicum sceleri prebuisse assensum. Eram quippe tunc temporis Kantebrugie cum iudeis iudeus, nec me latuit patrate accionis scelus. Processu temporis, cum gloriosa miraculorum cernerem magnalia que beati martiris Willelmi meritis uirtus operatur diuina, plurimum expaui, et conscientiam meam consulens, iudaismo relicto, ad Christi fidem me conuerti. Hec nempe iudei conuersi uerba eo conicimus ueriora quo illa et ab hoste conuerso atque hostilium secretorum conscio reuelata didicimus.

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land. Wherefore the chief men and Rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain assemble together at Narbonne, where the Royal seed [resides], and where they are held in the highest estimation, and they cast lots for all the countries which the Jews inhabit; and whatever country the lot falls upon, its metropolis has to carry out the same method with the other towns and cities, and the place whose lot is drawn has to fulfil the duty imposed by authority. Now in that year in which we know that William, God's glorious martyr, was slain, it happened that the lot fell upon the Norwich Jews, and all the synagogues in England signified, by letter or by message, their consent that the wickedness should be carried out at Norwich. "I was," said he, "at that time at Cambridge, a Jew among Jews, and the commission of the crime was no secret to me. But in process of time, as I became acquainted with the glorious display of miracles which the divine power carried out through the merits of the blessed martyr William, I became much afraid, and following the dictates of my conscience, I forsook Judaism, and turned to the Christian faith."

These words, observe,—the words of a converted Jew—we reckon to be all the truer, in that we received them as uttered by one who was a converted enemy, and also had been privy to the secrets of our enemies.

Sextum argumentum.

SI autem tantis necdum argumentis incredulorum dissoluitur dubietas, efficacissimum ueritatis indicium inducimus. Regnante etenim Rege Stephano, tum ex edicto regio, tum ex uicecomitis Johannis subsidio iudei iam securiores redditi nobis audacter insultare solebant dicentes: Gratias nobis persoluisse debueratis, quia sanctum ac martŷrem uobis fecimus. Fecimus quidem uobis perutile bonum quod in nos retorquetis ad maleficium. Fecimus uobis quod uos ipsi uobis facere non potuistis.

xii. *Septimum argumentum.*

ADHVC denique et aliud proponatur argumentum quo fides corroboretur dubitantium. Quippe Willelmus de Hastinges, Norwicensis olim decanus, nobis super nece beati martŷris Willelmi aliquando colloquentibus ueraciter protestatus est se nonnunquam litigio duorum interfuisse iudeorum. Et cum unus alterum uerbis criminaliter impeteret, alter ira permotus ad decanum se conuertit et litiganti secum iudeo protendens digitum ait: Domine Willelme,

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The Sixth Argument.

But if the unbelief of the incredulous is not yet overcome by these powerful arguments, we will now bring forward the most effectual proof of the truth.

For while King Stephen was reigning, the Jews, in consequence of the royal edict and also by reason of the sheriff John's support, being rendered now more confident, used to rail at us insolently, saying "You ought to be very much obliged to us, for we have made a saint and martyr for you. Verily we have done you a great deal of good, and a good which you retort upon us as a crime. Aye! we have done for you what you could not do for yourselves."

xii. *The Seventh Argument.*

At this point let another argument be brought forward whereby the faith of the doubters may be strengthened. It is as follows: William de Hastings, formerly dean of Norwich, when we were in conversation with him regarding the murder of the blessed martyr William, protested on his word that he had more than once been present at a dispute between two Jews; and when one railed at the other with words of accusation, the other, moved to anger, turned to the dean, and pointing his finger at the Jew who was disputing with him, said, "Sir William, yon man who talks so confidently in your presence

hic qui adeo fiducialiter coram te loquitur, a te qui christianus es audiri non meretur. Ipse enim in christianum uestrum quem martirem dicitis Willelmum primas manus iniecit, manibusque cruentis interemit. Vnde reuera dignus esset qui inter christianos manere non debuisset.

Conclusio.

ITAQVE, tantis ac talibus propositis ad ueritatem declarandam argumentis, deinceps non estimo dubitandum, sanctum martirem Willelmum a iudeis fuisse occisum. Quod autem opponitur, *martirem pena non facit sed causa*, et nos id ita esse attestamur. Nempe penarum indicia in sancti Willelmi corpore percepimus, quarum causam fuisse patet Christum, in cuius contumeliam penaliter sit occisus. A simili propter eandem causam sanctis innocentibus non pena gloriam martirii contulit, sed Christi gratia, qui mortis eorum causa fuit. Si uero quid de iudeis peremptoribus actum sit queratur, consequentia declarant.

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does not deserve to be listened to by you who are a Christian, for he is the man who first laid hands upon your Christian William, whom you call a martyr, and killed him with his blood-stained hands. So really he does not deserve to be allowed to remain among Christians."

Conclusion.

Wherefore, after arguments so strong and so good having been brought forward to make the truth clear, from henceforth I think that there ought to be no doubt that the holy martyr William was slain by the Jews.

But as to that which is urged against us, that 'Not the suffering but the cause of the suffering makes the martyr': we too agree that it is so. Assuredly we have seen the marks of the sufferings on the holy William's body, but it is plain that the cause of those sufferings was Christ, in scorn of whom he was condemned and slain. In like manner and for the same reason it was not their sufferings which earned for the Holy Innocents the glory of martyrdom, but the grace of Christ who was the cause of their death.

Now if it be asked what became of the Jews who murdered him, what follows will make that plain.

xiii. *Quem exitum iudei christianicide ultione diuina habuerint.*

CVM igitur beatissimum puerum et martirem Willelmum, tum reuelationum indiciis, tum plurimis probationum argumentis, a iudeis occisum fuisse constet, non iniusto dei iuditio factum credimus quod ipsos uelut tam nefandi facinoris reos diuina tam festinanter post patrati flagicii accionem perculerit iusticia, ac uniuersos breui temporis processu celestis exterminauerit siue disperserit uindicta. Alii etenim, crebrescentem tanti criminis non sustinentes infamiam, in exteras dispersi sunt prouintias et, ut fama promulgauit, ultione condigna perierunt. Reliqui uero, qui de tutela uicecomitis confisi remanserant, uel festine mortis interitu deleti, uel christianorum manibus sunt perempti. Presertim inter hec Deus-adiuuet iudei mortem, in cuius domo, prout superiori commemorauimus libro, beatissimum martirem Willelmum illusum et occisum declarauimus, qui et ipsum mortuum nemori abscondendum asportauit, non pretermittendam duximus, quoniam si huius rei geste modus diligentius attendatur, maximum ueritati argumentum inducitur. Erat quippe iudeus ille inter ceteros

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xiii. *What end those Christianicide Jews had by the Divine vengeance.*

Since then it is certain, as well by testimony of revelations as by manifold arguments serving as proofs, that the most blessed boy and martyr, William, was slain by the Jews; we believe that it was brought about by the righteous judgment of God, that these same men, being guilty of so horrible a crime, suffered so prompt a retribution for such deliberate wickedness, and that the rod of heaven in a brief space of time exterminated or scattered them all. For some of them, not being able to endure the infamy of the charge which increased upon them more and more, were dispersed into other parts and, as report says, perished by the punishment they deserved; but the rest who, trusting to the protection of the Sheriff, remained, either perished by visitation of sudden death, or were put an end to by the hands of the Christians. Foremost among these instances must I describe the death of the Jew Eleazar, in whose house, as I have mentioned in the previous book, the blessed martyr William was mocked and slain; who, too, when the martyr was dead, carried him away to be concealed in the wood; since if the manner in which this was brought about be diligently attended to, it will be considered an argument of very great weight for the truth of the story.

In sooth, that Jew was the richest Jew of them all, who had got

ditissimus, qui Simonem quendam de Nodariis maximo pecunie debito sibi obnoxium fecerat, et transeunte soluendi termino ipsum militem de soluendi[1] pecunia sepissime angariabat. Angustiatus itaque miles, quoniam soluendi debiti non suppetebat facultas, de die in diem frequentes solutionis renouabat inducias. Armigeri uero eius, in tanta dominum suum cernentes angustia, consilium inter se secretius ineunt quemadmodum ipsum liberare preualeant. Mutui ergo consilii facta collatione, unus ex deliberationis dispensatione, qui iudeum fraudis ignarum quasi ad suscipiendum debitum abducat, siue assentiente domino, siue nesciente nescio, deus scit, dirigitur, alii interim nemore per quod transitus erat occultantur. Quo tandem adueniens ductu armigeri iudeus confestim a ceteris rapitur, seorsum trahitur et occiditur. Cuius necem ubi reliqui iudei fama diuulgante cognouerunt, cadauer inde transferentes, Lundonias detulerunt humandum. Attendat inter hec diligens lector quam iusto iuditio hec contigisse deus permiserit, quam condigne talionem reddiderit, ut iudeus qui sacrilegis manibus intra domum suam christianum peremerat,

[1] *sic.*

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into his clutches a certain Simon de Nodariis[1] who owed him a large sum of money, and as the time for payment was drawing near, he kept very frequently pestering the knight to pay the money. So the knight being in straits, inasmuch as he had not the means to pay the debt, kept on from day to day making new excuses for deferring payment. His esquires, however, seeing their lord to be in such great difficulties, took secret counsel among themselves how they might extricate him. So they laid their heads together, and one of them, as a result of their conspiracy, was sent to fetch the Jew, who was ignorant of the plot, as if for the repayment of the debt. The others meanwhile—whether their lord was privy to it or not, I know not, God knows—hid themselves in a wood through which he had to pass. When the Jew arrived there, the esquire leading him on, he was immediately seized by the others, dragged off and killed. When the other Jews heard of the murder, by the news being commonly reported, they took the corpse and carried it to London for burial.

Let the careful reader here observe how just was the judgment of God which permitted this to happen, and how worthily He dealt out retribution; in that the Jew who with wicked hands had enticed a Christian into his house and killed him, when he had killed him had

[1] The chief manor of the family was at Swanton Novers, about six miles from Holt, which Sir Simon held of the Bishop of Norwich.

peremptum nemore proiecerat, proiectum canibus et auibus exposuerat, et idem e domo sua traductus sub nemore manibus christianis occideretur, atque itidem sub diuo relictus canum et auium exponeretur morsibus. Euoluto denique aliquanti temporis spacio, cum Norwicum Rex aduenisset, iudei coram rege confluentes super memorati conquesti sunt nece iudei, atque totius facti crimen prescripto adscribentes militi, eum in hunc accusauerunt modum.

xiv. *In iudiciali genere coniecturalis causa.*

AVDIAT nos, benignissime rex, tua illustris totique mundo predicabilis clementia, que nulli bene merenti subtrahitur, cuius beneficio pax nobis et tranquillitas administrantur. Tuis ecce confisi patrociniis, ad te ceu ad unicum et singulare nobis asilum confugimus, atque de tua non diffisi iusticia, ad te iustum conuenimus iudicem, iuris et equi reuera sectatorem. Itaque tum de illato nobis dampno atque iniuria debitam requirentes iusticiam, consimilisque metu infortunii protectionis tue postulantes tutelam, quid nobis mali illatum sit, siue quid uelimus paucis exponemus.

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flung him into a wood, and there had exposed him to the dogs and the birds—this same man was enticed out of his own house, was killed by the hands of Christians in a wood, and exactly in the same way was left in the open air and exposed to be torn to pieces by dogs and birds.

However, when some time had passed and the king had come to Norwich, the Jews assembled together before the king and laid their complaint regarding the aforesaid Jew; and ascribing the guilt of the whole act to the forementioned knight, they accused him in manner following.

xiv. *An imaginary sketch of the Trial.*

Hear us, most gracious King, of thy well-known clemency, which is proclaimed throughout the world, is withheld from none that deserves it, and is the means of procuring peace and quiet for us. Behold, we who trust in thy patronage have betaken ourselves to thee as to our one and only refuge, and with every confidence in thy justice, have come before thee as the just judge, and faithful follower of right and equity. Wherefore we, looking for the justice that is our due for a wrong and injury done us, and demanding too the shield of thy protection against the fear of a like misfortune, will set forth in few words what the wrong is that has been done us, and what our wishes are.

Nos iudei tui sumus, tui quotennes tributarii, tuisque crebro necessarii necessitatibus, tibi siquidem semper fideles regnoque tuo non inutiles. Tu quoque nos benigne satis ac tranquille moderaris; sed tranquillitatem nostram fraudulenti Simonis huius, quem exaduerso stantem cernimus, et non immerito punienda nimis atrociter perturbare presumpsit audatia. Is etenim creditorem habens unum de confratribus nostris, seruum quidem tuum, iudeum, directo ad eum armigero quasi suscipiendi gratia debiti ab urbe illum ad rus euocauit, atque in itinere iugulari fecit. Quid multa? Tuum quidem, domine rex, iudeum peremptum esse constat, atque ita constare conquerimur. De cuius homicidii reatu hunc Simonem de Nodariis in causam ducimus et tam facinorosam accionem ipsius consilio ac dispositione pertractatam, immo et patratam fuisse asseueramus. Quid uero actio tam nefaria mereatur equi iudicis satis nouit industria. Veruntamen, ut ita gestum credas, in fidei ueniant argumentum abductio fraudulenta, facta per diuortium uia, loci ac temporis oportunitas, atque negotii gerendi pro uoto facultas. Armiger ab milite dispensatorie directus et creditori iudeo bene cognitus, ipsum quasi

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We are thy Jews. We are thy tributaries year by year, we are continually necessary to thee in thy necessities, since we are always faithful to thee and by no means useless to thy realm. For thee, thou rulest us leniently and quietly. But our tranquillity the audacity of this Simon whom we see standing there opposed to us—an audacity which deserves to be punished—has presumed to disturb, after an atrocious sort. For this man having as his creditor one of our brethren, thy servant, a Jew, having sent to him an esquire on pretence of his debt being to be paid, called him out of the city into the country, and caused him to be murdered on the road. What more? It is certain, O Lord the King, that thy Jew was slain, and we complain that the fact is so. We lay our charge against this Simon de Nodariis as answerable for the homicide of this man; and we assert that by his counsel and device a deed so wicked was planned, aye, and carried out. But what so base a deed deserves, that the wisdom of so righteous a judge well knows. But that thou mayest believe that so it was, let the following arguments for the truth be considered: (1) the treacherous leading him astray, (2) the road that was marked out through a lonely spot, (3) the convenience of time and place, (4) and the facility for carrying out the business according to what was desired.

(1) The esquire was sent by the knight as his deputy, and was well known to the creditor, the Jew. This Jew he invited as if to receive

ad suscipiendum debitum inuitauit, abduxit, uia per diuersorii deflexa dispendium suspectos euitauit occursus. Nemus in itinere, noctisque intempeste silentium oportunitatem prestitit. Gladius cum armigero et consodalium, ut fama traditur, ad id negocii ibidem excubans turba patrando facinori facultatem administrauit. Quid autem miles in tanta debiti angaria positus et soluendi impotens aliud consilii inisset ut, exclusa tam diuturne seruitutis molestia, libertatem sibi uendicaret et hoc facti fine finem moleste exactioni imponeret? Atque, ut rem manifestius exequar, debitor miles aut soluere uoluit et potuit, aut uoluit nec potuit, aut noluit et potuit, siue, quod restat, nec uoluit nec potuit. Si ergo uoluit et potuit, cur non soluit, siue cur in tam diuturna angaria permansit? Si uero uoluit et non potuit, ipsa nimirum impotentia menti ei liberationis desiderium paulatim induxit. Si autem noluit et potuit, ecce iam maliuole mentis consciencia maleficium concepit. Denique si, quod magis credimus, nec uoluit nec potuit, constat profecto quoniam exquisite deliberationis industria huiusmodi maleficii parturiuit consilium. Iterum si iudei necem qua insimulatur non uoluit, non resciit, non pertractauit, ut a se

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his debt, and led him away. (2) The path took a long and tortuous round and so obviated the fear of any chance encounter. (3) A wood on the road and the silence of the dark night afforded the opportunity. (4) The esquire's sword and a crowd of his comrades, as report saith, lying in wait to do the deed, afforded facility for the commission of the crime. For what other purpose could the knight have had—being as he was in such great money difficulties and unable to pay—except that by ridding himself of the bondage of his long-standing embarrassment, he might get freedom for himself, and by this act he might make an end of the worrying exactions?

And to make the matter plainer, this knightly debtor either would pay and could; or he would and could not; or he would not and could; or lastly, he neither would nor could.

If he would and could, why did he not pay? and why did he continue in this long embarrassment? If he would and could not, no wonder if his lack of power gradually suggested to his mind the desire to get free. If he would not and yet could, observe how now the thoughts of his evil mind conceived the evil deed. But if, as is more credible, he neither would nor could pay, it is plainly manifest that the working of his crafty thoughts brought forth the plot of a wickedness of this character. Again, if he did not wish for the murder of the Jew which is laid to his charge, if he was not ware of it—if he did not

omnem secludat mali suspicionem, cur sponse mortui aut parentibus exigentibus debitum non soluit? cur fidem suam qua creditori constrictus erat per incuriam negligit? Quin etiam iam insolens et contumax effectus, nobis eum super fide sua adquietanda conuenientibus, conuitiorum maledicta irrogat, crebrasque non promerentibus minas intentat. Homicide ergo militis reatum satis denotatum estimamus dum occisionis causam ac modum deinde dum occisoris insolentiam et minarum audatiam explanauimus. Licere autem cuilibet christiano quempiam pro libito suo bene merentem iudeum ita impune occidere nequaquam credimus; et quod non licere procul dubio constat si sic impunitum relinquatur, emulos multos eiusdem audatie futuros satisque deterius postmodum prouenire non dubitamus. Proinde nobis[1] plurimum super huiuscemodi timentes et confratris nostri indigne condolentes morti tuam, iuste rex, exoramus clementiam quatinus paci ac securitati nostre prouideas, indignamque tui iudei mortem impunitam non pretermittas.

[1] *sic.*

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plan it—why did he not, in order to turn away from himself all suspicion of the crime, pay the debt to the dead man's wife or his relations when they asked for it? Why did he wantonly neglect the engagement by which he was bound to his creditor? On the contrary he has become now so insolent and contumacious that when we call upon him to fulfil his engagement, he hurls at us calumnies and abuse, and aims at us continual threats, though we deserve them not. We think therefore that the guilt of this murderous knight has been sufficiently made out, since the motive of the murder and the manner of it, and then too the insolence of the assassin and the audacity of his menaces, have been set forth.

But we by no means believe that it is lawful for any Christian whoever he be to slay with impunity according to his pleasure any Jew who behaves as he ought: and if an act certainly illegal be left unpunished, we doubt not that there will be many who will be imitators of this man's audacity, and that hereafter things will get to be worse than they are. Furthermore we, as fearing this kind of treatment for ourselves and sorrowing over the undeserved death of our brother, beseech thee of thy clemency, O righteous King! that thou provide for our living in peace and security, and that thou do not suffer the undeserved death of thy Jew to go unpunished.

IN hunc itaque modum accusatus miles, primo super huiuscemodi re se reum esse negat ac deinde, petita a rege licentia, super eodem diligentius responsurus ad consilium cum amicis progreditur. Et quia miles de tenura, ut ita dicam, erat episcopali, episcopus Willelmus militi ut consulat licentia regis ad consilium procedit. Cumque in tam difficili causa sub admirabili genere defensionis omnes orationem laborare cernerent, ad id consilii uentum est, ut in causa pontifex pro milite defensoris uicem gerat, tum ut regem, cui iam persuasum uidebatur, attentum et beniuolum redderet auctoritas, tum ut aduersariorum infirmata calumpnia militem liberet artificiosa eius qua pre ceteris affluebat eloquentia. Presul itaque, multa prece tandem conpulsus, negotio accingitur. Et quoniam iam hinc regem inde consistentes sensisset offensos, sub tali genere cause in exordii uestibulis compendiosa quadam insinuatione utendum fore adiudicauit. Qua peritus perorator abalienatos auditorum pedetemptim subiret animos, talique artificio comparata paulatim ipsorum beniuolentia, orationis reliquum ad criminis circumflecteret translationem. His igitur quasi munitus armis ad perorande cause consurgit conflictum, et

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The knight having been accused in this manner first denied that he was guilty of anything of the sort. Then, having obtained leave of the king, he retired to consult with his friends before making a detailed answer to the charge. And inasmuch as the knight was under the Bishop's jurisdiction, as the term is, Bishop William by licence of the king went to the conference to consult for the knight's safety. And since all perceived that in so difficult a cause the pleading would require a special kind of defence, it was determined that in this cause the Bishop should represent the knight as his defender; in order that the high position of the advocate might make the king (who seemed already convinced of the truth of the charge) give a favourable hearing, and also that, the charges of his adversaries being weakened, the Bishop's accomplished eloquence, in which he surpassed all others, might get the knight acquitted.

So the prelate, prevailed upon by many petitions, at length complied. And as he observed that both the king and the auditory were already indignant, he decided that in the kind of cause which he had to plead it would be best to make use of a brief statement to begin with, so as to win over insensibly the hostile minds of his hearers by skilled oratory; and when once their goodwill was thus gained he might employ the remainder of his speech in making a countercharge. Thus armed, as I may say, he rose to engage in the pleading of his

de consilio cum suis regressus huiusmodi coram rege arripuit loquendi exordium.

Oratio defensoria.

ASSENTIMVS quidem et nos detestandos immo et precipue puniendos fore qui bene merentes creditores suos dolo traducunt siue traductos interimunt. Eos uero permaxime persequendos censemus qui fidem solito uiolantes fraudis sacrilegium pro nichilo ducunt, mendacii crimen paruipendunt, qui debitis suis nolunt siue nesciunt querere remedium, nisi per machinatum aliene mortis interitum. Porro iudeus de cuius nece miles Simon insimulatur dum uixit plurimos preter Simonem debitores habuit, alios quidem minori, alios uero pari, et nonnullos debito multo maiori sibi obnoxios. Si igitur quisquam, quo debiti absoluatur molestia, mortem eius exoptauit, credibilius uidetur circa illam deliberasse maiori debito astrictum quam minori obnoxium. Hunc autem quis creditoris sui necem appetisse credat, cuius et mors non absque maximo ei contigit dampno, et uita non sine multiplici fuerat beneficio? Qua etenim ratione me uelle astruar mori

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cause, returned from the conference with his friends, and began his speech before the king in the following terms:

Speech for the defence.

We agree perfectly with our accusers on one point: that men who deceive creditors, who deserve well of them, or who, after deceiving, kill them, merit detestation, nay, condign punishment. And we account that they should be most strictly pursued who habitually break faith, make light of the crime of fraud, think nothing of lying, and have neither will nor skill to find a remedy for their debts save the one way of contriving the death of another.

Now, the Jew of whose death the knight Simon is accused had, while he lived, many debtors besides Simon: some owed him less, some as much, some again far more than Simon did. If, then, anyone was desirous of his death in order to be rid of the annoyance of debt, it seems more likely to have been planned by one who was saddled with a heavy debt than one who owed less. But can anyone believe that Simon should have desired the death of his creditor? The man's death was productive of great loss to him: his life had been the means of repeated advantages to him. With what show of reason can it be made out that I should be desirous of the death

illum quem morte prefestina mihi subtrahendum timeo, cuius et uitam uelut mihi per omnia necessariam diu protelari concupisco? Sic et miles qui de nece creditoris impetitur, si uiuentem tanquam sibi perutilem et necessarium plurimum dilexit, si mortuum plangere et necdum desistit, quemadmodum quod cum amore tanto possederat quandoque se amisisse non plangat? Et quem amissum sic doleat, quis eum super amisso gaudere uel necem eius appetisse contendat? Quod autem criminis armigero inducitur, culpam armiger prorsus diffitetur. Quod tamen ueritatis in actione fuit ab ipso edocti breuiter explicabimus. Miles quem super huiuscemodi re plurimum admiramur accusari, quem boni semper testimonii ut mitem, ut benignum, ut non iniuriosum fuisse cognouimus, domi domestica et necessaria detentus, quia Norwicum uenire non potuit, reuera per armigerum ad suscipiendum debitum creditorem euocauit. Armiger, disponente ita iudeo, sub silentio noctis cum ipso urbem egressus, securiorem quam nouerat arripuit uiam, ut et per tenebras malignorum hominum lateret noticiam atque omnes suspectos declinaret occursus. Confecta uero aliquanta itineris parte, ubi nullas omnino

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of one whose premature removal I regard with fear, and whose life I earnestly desire to see prolonged as being in every way advantageous to me? So with this knight, who is charged with murdering his creditor. If while he lived he cherished him as being of great use and advantage to him; if now that he is dead he has not yet ceased to bemoan him—as how should he not mourn the loss of that which he had possessed with such affection?—who can contend that he rejoices over the loss of this man or that he desired his death, when he is so much affected by that loss?

Now, as to the charge that is brought against the esquire, the esquire denies his guilt *in toto*. And in regard of the real facts of the matter, I will briefly explain what they were, as I have learned them from him. The knight, whom I am much surprised to find as the object of such an accusation, since I have always known him to be of good report, a peaceable, kind, and law-abiding man, was detained at home by urgent private affairs and could not come to Norwich, and certainly did send by an esquire for his creditor, that the latter might receive his debt. The esquire, according to the arrangement of the Jew, left the city in his company in the quiet of night and took the safest route he knew in order to avoid the notice of evil-disposed persons under cover of the darkness, and to escape all suspicious encounters. They accomplished a good part of the way and were suspecting no

suspicabantur insidias, inciderunt in latrones. Qui aduenientes subito rapuerunt, equisque deiectos ut expoliarent seorsum uiolenter traxerunt. Inter hec iudeus, dum quem ferebat mucrone se defendere conaretur, hostili cecidit interemptus gladio. Porro armiger saluti sue consulens, occupatis circa iudeum aliis, tenentium elabitur manibus et per silue densitatem que ibi aderat fuge uelocitate uitam conseruauit. Sic utique, domine rex, iudeum constat interfectum. Super cuius necis reatu militem qui eius insimulatur reuera immunem ne dubites, qui facti atrocitatem confestim ubi factam cognouit, uehementer super indigna tanti amici morte condoluit. Sed neque usque in hanc horam, licet inde sedulus indagator extiterit, tanti factores facinoris rescire potuit. Ab huius quoque ueritatis tramite si rumor exorbitauit non admiramur. Sed, quia falsos cotidie suboriri rumores cernimus, profecto non uniuersis fides facile est adhibenda rumoribus. Denique quod minarum et conuitiorum miles arguitur, cum iudeos ipse semper honorauerit atque plurimum dilexerit, non parum admiratur. Vt autem uniuersa breui summa concludam; miles se necem de quo[1] agitur iudei neque uoluisse neque pertractasse

[1] *sic.*

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sort of ambuscade, when they fell among thieves. These men came, seized them, threw them from their horses, and dragged them violently away to despoil them. Upon this, the Jew, while attempting to defend himself with the sword which he carried, fell slain by a hostile weapon. The esquire, naturally, in the interests of his own safety, while the rest were busied about the Jew, escaped from the hands of his captors and saved his life by flying swiftly through the thick wood which was at hand. In this way it appears that the Jew lost his life, my Lord King, and you need not doubt that the knight who is charged with the guilt of his death is clear from it. Upon hearing of the deed he was at once powerfully affected by its atrocity and by the undeserved fate of so valued a friend: but never, to this hour, though he has shown himself a most zealous investigator of the matter, has he been able to ascertain the perpetrators of this great crime. I am not surprised that rumour has deviated from the path of truth in this case: but as we see that false reports become current every day, we must not lend a ready belief to all the reports we hear. And in fact, whereas the knight is accused of employing threats and abuse, he is not a little surprised at the charge, for he has always respected the Jews and been much attached to them.

However, to wind up the whole case shortly, the knight is present

neque aliter ac dictum est rescisse, sed nec iudeis in aliquo derogasse prout curia presens dictauerit constanter probaturus assistit. Sed inter hec serenissime discretioni tue, iustissime rex, intimatum iri uolumus quoniam nobis uidetur ad huiusmodi iudeorum accusationem nos christiani respondisse non debuissemus, nisi primo de christiani nostri nece purgarentur, unde et ipsi pridem accusati et non purgati dinoscuntur. Et ut rem totam et pertinens omnibus christianis negotium christianissime clementie tue enucleatius atque summatim enodemus, iudeus ille, de cuius morte miles licet immunis arguitur, cum ceteris qui tunc in urbe erant iudeis in domo sua, ut fama dicitur, puerum christianum miserabili penarum modo attrectauit, interemit, et nemore abscondit. Qua de re diebus predecessoris nostri Ebrardi pontificis a presbitero accusatis sub plena sinodo iudeis, obsistente et manutenente eos Iohanne uicecomite, nullam de eis christiani postmodum habere potuerunt iusticiam. Habemus et adhuc eundem presto presbiterum, ipsos sub crimine pretaxato quando et quo libuerit iuditio probaturum. Ea propter, si regie non displiceat maiestati, competens nobis ac iustum uidetur ut sicut christiani

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here, prepared to prove with all constancy, in whatever way this court shall prescribe, that he neither desired the death of the Jew in question, nor planned it, nor knew of it in any other wise than has been stated, and that he never abused the Jews in any way.

But, meanwhile, O most just King, we are desirous of signifying to your most serene discretion that it is our opinion that we Christians ought not to have been called upon to reply to an accusation of this kind from the Jews, before they themselves were purged of the murder of one of us, a Christian, of which they are known to have been accused ere now and not purged. And, to lay before your most Christian clemency in a plain and concise fashion the whole case—it is a matter which concerns all Christians—that Jew of whose death the knight, though innocent, is accused, did, in conjunction with the other Jews then in the city, in his house, as report says, miserably torment, kill, and hide in a wood a Christian boy. And when, in the days of my predecessor, Bishop Eborard, the Jews had been accused of this in full synod by a priest, yet because the Sheriff John opposed us and maintained them, the Christians were unable to have justice executed upon them. We have, furthermore, at this day the same priest ready to prove them guilty of the crime aforesaid at such time, and under such conditions of trial as you please. On this account, if it be not displeasing to your Royal Majesty, it seems to

nostri in obprobrium et derisum passionis christi factam occisionem iudei mors nostramque calumpniam calumpnia eorum subsequi dinoscitur, ita nimirum et presbiteri accusantis probationem militis purgatio subsequatur. Neque diutius rigor differatur iusticie, quoniam tantum scelus usque in hodiernum diem et impunitum esse conquerimur, atque vlterius non differri deprecamur. Ita tamen queque pertractentur, ut et Christus preponatur in omnibus, et legi christiane digna pro meritis exhibeatur reuerentia.

PERORANTE igitur in hunc modum episcopo adeo commoti et iam persuasi regis et assistentium sunt animi, ut confestim puniendam iudeorum funestam decernerent audatiam, iamiamque paulatim magis ac magis incitarentur ad uindictam. Sed, quoniam omnibus generaliter christianis huius sermonis pertinere uidebatur negotium, differri rex iussit quousque quod in proximo futurum erat cleri et baronum Lundonie celebraretur concilium. Quod et ita factum est. Congregato etenim paulo post concilio affuit et Willelmus Norwicensis episcopus cum plurimis suorum et milite accusato. Conuenerant quoque et paucis ante diebus e diuersis Anglie ciuitatibus apud Lundoniam iudei pr<ude>ntiores,

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us fitting and right that, just as the death of the Christian, done in reproach and derision of the Passion of Christ, preceded the death of the Jew, and the injury inflicted on us preceded that inflicted on them, so the priest's accusation ought to come first, and the purgation of the knight afterwards. And let the rigour of justice be no longer deferred; for we complain bitterly that so foul a crime has remained unpunished to this day, and we earnestly pray that it may no longer be put off. Yet, let everything be so handled that Christ be first considered in all things and due reverence be paid, as is right, to the law of Christianity.

As the Bishop ended his speech after this sort, the effect, and indeed conviction, produced in the minds of the king and his assessors was so great that they decreed that the ghastly outrage of the Jews must be at once punished, and gradually were worked up more and more to take vengeance. But, in regard that the matter seemed to be one affecting all classes of Christians, the king commanded that it should be postponed until the general Council of the clergy and barons (which was near at hand) should be assembled at London, and this was done. When the Council met shortly afterwards, William, Bishop of Norwich, with many friends and with the accused knight, was present. A few days before, also, the more sagacious of the Jews had assembled at London from various cities of England

ut scilicet, sicut rerum postea significauit euentus, communis collatione consilii super memorato sermone deliberarent qualiter in tam difficili causa saluti sue consulerent. Qui, nullam aliam euadendi repperientes uiam, per regios pecunia, si fame creditur, precorruptos consiliarios regem ipsum conueniunt, dataque ut dicitur non modica argenti copia, ipsius gratiam uix tandem extorserunt. Ex cuius confestim consilio episcopum Norwicensem adeunt, plurimaque licet marcarum numerositate promissa iudeique occisi morte condonata, nullatenus pontificalem corrumpere preualuerunt animum. Quid plura? Post tridie, assistentibus regi in consistorio episcopis et baronibus, affuit inter ceteros et memoratus pontifex Willelmus. Qui plura post pertractata negotia, cum accusato assurgens milite: Ecce, ait, domine rex, nostram parati sumus iterare causam, tuam subinde et consistentium audituri sententiam. Cui rex: Quoniam, inquit, domine episcope, pluribus hodie sermonibus defatigati et nonnullis que restant impediti sumus, condignam <tan>te rei sedulitatem exhibere non possumus. Sed interim pacienter sustine, dum his uelut quibusdam precisis sentibus expeditiores postmodum quasi ad succidendam arborem nociuam iusticie nostre securim exacuamus.

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with the view, as afterwards appeared, of meeting and discussing the matter and deciding how to secure themselves in so difficult a case. And, finding no other means of escape, they obtained an audience of the king (by bribing his councillors, as report says), gave him, it is said, a large sum of money, and succeeded with difficulty in extorting *a promise of* favour. From his presence they hastened to the Bishop of Norwich. But though they promised him a very large number of marks and offered to condone the death of the murdered Jew, they were quite unable to corrupt the prelate's mind.

To make a long story short, after three days, the king, assisted by the bishops and barons, being in court, the aforesaid Bishop William was present: and, after much other business had been discussed, he rose, with the accused knight, and said, "Lo, my Lord the King, we are here, prepared to set forth once again our case, and to hear your sentence and that of your assessors." The king replied: "My Lord Bishop, we have been fatigued by a good deal of discourse to day, and have yet some business which keeps us: we are unable, therefore, to give the requisite attention to so weighty a matter. But wait, meanwhile, with patience, until we have cleared away these briars, as I may call them, and so be the freer to whet the axe of our justice for the felling of the noxious tree. And inasmuch as this case is

Et quoniam causa perdificilis est, ipsam temere aggredi aut prepropere nos non condecet. Quanto etenim res uehementior est et offensa, tanto maior iusticie adhibenda est cautela. Ipsam itaque causam in aliud tempus differamus ac maiori reseruatam oportunitati, cum licuerit et libitum fuerit, communis prouisione consilii retractabimus.

[I]NTER hec diligens lectoris perpendat prudentia non ad aliud nos declamationis huius conflictum libro nostro interseruisse, nisi ut palam fiat quod uersutissima iudeorum gens et auarissima si de obiecta sibi gloriosi pueri ac martiris Willelmi nece ream se esse non persensisset, presbiteri probationem non adeo timuisset, nequaquam ita omnino refugisset. Itidem pro necis eiusdem reprimendo sermone regi regiisque consiliariis non tantum pecunie tribuisset, nullatenus episcopo tantum promisisset, et maxime perempti mortem iudei nullo unquam pacto ita sine calumpnia quietam reliquisset. Constat ergo quia sibi conscii de tanto facinore fuerant. Licet enim auarissimi sint, per pecunie tamen sue dampnum non displicuit eos timori suo comparare remedium.

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a very difficult one, it is not fitting that we approach it rashly or hastily. For the more pressing the matter and the crime, the more warily must justice be applied. Let us therefore defer the case to another season, and, being thus reserved for a greater convenience, when we are able, and our pleasure is, we will consider it with the care of our common counsel."

Herein let the careful sagacity of the reader perpend that we have inserted this declamatory contest in our book to no other end than that it may appear that that most crafty and avaricious race, the Jews, had they not felt themselves to be guilty of the death of the glorious boy and martyr William, which was charged against them, would not have so gravely feared, and altogether shrunk from the proof offered by the priest: and moreover would not have given so much money to the king and his councillors, nor promised so much to the Bishop, to hush up the talk concerning his death, nor, more especially, would they ever have left undisturbed the matter of the murdered Jew's death and raised no complaint. It is plain, therefore, that they were conscious of this great crime. For though they are most avaricious, they did not shrink from assuaging their fears by a pecuniary loss.

XV. *Qualiter diuine ultionis iuditium circa Iohannem vicecomitem iudeorum defensorem apparuerit.*

MORTEM quoque Iohannis uicecomitis, quam condigna dei ultione gestam credamus, nequaquam pretermittere uolumus. Is siquidem a die synodali qua, ut precedenti meminimus libro, christiane iudeos iusticie multis premuneratus muneribus subtraxit, irremediabili cepit laborare morbo. Sicut etenim quibusdam familiarium suorum ipse postmodum testatus est, a quibus et id ipsum post mortem eius didici, puncto temporis quo iudeis patrocinando legi sicut predictum est christiane patenter aduersari cepit, per posteriora eius sanguis guttatim profluere inchoauit. Adeoque diuina circa eum claruit ultio, ut reuera cum iudeis dicere et ipse possit: *Sanguis innocens super nos et super filios nostros.* Per duos igitur annos sanguine uicibus crebris per ima profluente uirtutem corporis sanguinis defectus imminuit, uultui pallorem induxit, et quamuis iram dei super se manifestam sentiret, totus tamen induratus necdum penitere uoluit. Tercio uero anno, quo iram in se magis incitaret et acueret diuinam et

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XV. *How the judgment of Divine vengeance appeared in the case of the Sheriff John, who defended the Jews.*

I cannot, further, pass over the death of the Sheriff John, which I must believe to have been wrought by the worthy vengeance of God. He, from the very day of the synod, when, as I related in my last book, he withdrew the Jews from the arm of Christian justice, because he had been heavily bribed, began to labour under an incurable disorder. For, as he himself afterwards testified to certain of his servants (from whom I learned the fact after his death), at the very moment when, by protecting the Jews, he began openly to oppose the Christian law, as is aforesaid, he began to suffer from internal haemorrhage. And so clearly was the vengeance of God shown in his case that he might in very truth say with the Jews, "Let the innocent blood be upon us and upon our children." For two years, then, the blood continued to flow at frequent intervals, and the loss of it weakened his bodily powers, and made him grow pale: and although he felt the wrath of God manifestly upon him, he was still wholly hardened and would not yet repent. But in the third year[1], that he might still further stir up and sharpen the wrath

[1] That is, counting from the martyrdom, which brings us to some time after March 1146.

propositam sibi diuine prouidentie acceleraret uindictam, Norwicensis ecclesie pacem ausu temerario perturbare presumpsit, nec in quantum licuit dignitatem eius, in eligendo scilicet pontifice, a regibus et apostolice sedis summis pontificibus confirmatam quassare pertimuit. Tantis igitur malignitatis sue meritis iram dei prouocantibus, nutu diuino memoratus circa eum inualuit morbus. Dumque prior Norwicensis Willelmus eidem ecclesie preficeretur et consecraretur episcopus, idem Iohannes adeo prescripta grauatus est ualitudine, ut a Trinouanto, ubi hec gerebantur, nullatenus Norwicum ingrauescente morbo redire potuerit. Sed ab itinere diuertens Mileham, eoque uix perueniens, paucis ibi diebus euolutis, incessabili illo deficiens sangu<inis> profluuio, exhaustisque cum sanguine uiribus, utinam uel tunc uere penitens diem clausit extremum. Perpendat igitur ex his diligens lectoris industria, ultio diuina quam grauiter illum feriat qui sancte ecclesie legique christiane pro uiribus sic aduersari non reformidat.

Explicit liber secundus.

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of God against himself, and hasten the purposed vengeance of Divine providence, he presumed by rash daring to disturb the peace of the Church of Norwich, and feared not, so far as in him lay, to shake its privilege, that, I mean, of electing a Bishop, which had been confirmed by Kings, and by the supreme Pontiffs of the Apostolic See. Since then these great deserts of his wickedness provoked the anger of God, the disorder I have described increased upon him at the Divine bidding. And when William, the Prior of Norwich, was set over the said Church and consecrated Bishop, this John was so gravely vexed with his disease that he was quite unable, on account of its severity, to return to Norwich from Trinovantum (London), where this business was being done: but turned out of his way to Mileham[1], which he was hardly able to reach; and there, after the lapse of a few days, exhausted by the incessant flow of blood, his strength and his blood alike failing him, he breathed his last, truly penitent, let us hope, even at that hour. Hence let the careful attention of the reader perpend how heavily the vengeance of God strikes the man who is not afraid to pit himself against the Holy Church and Christian laws, as this man did.

HERE ENDETH THE SECOND BOOK.

[1] The mention of Mileham completes the identification of John the Sheriff with John de Cheyney (de Caineto). The Cheyneys were Lords of Mileham. John was succeeded in the shrievalty by his brother William, who held office until 1163.

LIBER TERTIVS.

Incipiunt capitula libri tercii.

i. De translatione eius a cimiterio in capitulum; quod, quamuis urgeret episcopi et prioris Helie preceptio, non potuerit tamen sepulchrum sancti pauimento capituli coequari.
ii. De manifesta postmodum sepulchri exaltatione.
iii. De tapeto ablato ac luminari prohibito.
iv. De quodam clerico die paschali a dolore dentium liberato.
v. De monacho a consimili dolore liberato.
vi. De uisione monachi ac eiusdem correctione Petrus Peuerellus nomine, miles quondam in seculo.
vii. Qvaliter uxor Gaufridi de Marci infirma ad Sancti martiris sepulchrum uenerit et sana redierit.

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD BOOK.

i. Concerning his translation from the Cemetery into the Chapter House, and how, though the order of the Bishop and Prior Elias urged it, yet the sepulchre of the Saint could not be made level with the pavement.
ii. Concerning the subsequent manifest exaltation of the sepulchre.
iii. Concerning the carpet that was taken away and the light that was prohibited.
iv. Concerning a certain cleric delivered from the toothache on Easter Day.
v. Concerning a monk delivered from a similar pain.
vi. Concerning the vision of a monk and his correction, Peter Peverell by name, formerly a knight when living the secular life.
vii. How the wife of Geoffrey de Marc when ill came to the sepulchre of the holy martyr and returned whole.

viii. Qvaliter Muriel uxor Alani de Sechehuthe a quadam sua priuata egritudine ad sepulchrum eius liberata sit.
ix. De puerulo morti proximo et meritis <san>cti martiris curato.
x. Qvaliter monachus sompni amissione grauatus statim petito sancti martiris suffragio sompnum recuperauerit.
xi. Qvod domina Mabilia de Bec et filii eius sancti martiris circa se experti sunt uirtutem.
xii. De uisione Ricardi de Lunna atque eius morte. et de recuperatione luminis in capitulo.
xiii. Qvaliter W. sacrista ab infirmitate capitis et surditie meritis sancti martiris Willelmi curatus sit.
xiv. De quadam Alditha ab egritudine diuturna liberata.
xv. De altera per multum tempus languente per uisum mire curata.
xvi. De puero muto ad sepulchrum per uisum allato qualiter potentiam loquendi recuperauerit.
xvii. De puero ab annuo dissenterie languore curato.
xviii. De muliere quadam de Ormesbi sanitati restituta.

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viii. How Muriel wife of Alan de Setchy was delivered from a certain private disorder at his sepulchre.
ix. Concerning a little boy nigh unto death cured by the merits of the martyr.
x. How a monk troubled by loss of sleep, immediately recovered his sleep after begging the intercession of the holy martyr.
xi. How the lady Mabel de Bec and her sons with her experienced the virtue of the holy martyr.
xii. Concerning the vision of Richard de Lynn and concerning his death, and concerning the recovery of the light in the Chapter House.
xiii. How W. the Sacrist was cured of pain in the head and deafness by the merits of the holy martyr William.
xiv. Concerning a certain Alditha freed from a long-standing illness.
xv. Concerning another girl who had been ailing for a long time marvellously cured by a vision.
xvi. Concerning a dumb boy brought to the sepulchre by a vision and how he recovered his power of speech.
xvii. Concerning a boy cured of a dysentery that had lasted a year.
xviii. Concerning a certain woman from Ormesby restored to health.

xix. Qvaliter nautis mari periclitantibus per merita sancti martiris uirtus diuina subuenerit.
xx. De porcis paupercule mulieris infirmantibus et sanatis.
xxi. Quod mortalitas in bobus uirtute sancti martiris Willelmi sepissime cohercita sit.
xxii. De quadam Yda a dolore grauissimo liberata.
xxiii. De admirabili cuiusdam uirginis uisione.
xxiv. De quadam Goldeburga languente et sanata.
xxv. De filia Bartholomei de Creic a febribus liberata.
xxvi. De quodam ydropico curato.
xxvii. De puero quodam decenni qui ad sepulchrum sancti martiris allatus diutine infirmitatis sue subitum senserit leuamen.
xxviii. Qvaliter Hildebrandus quidam ab infirmitate sua conualuerit.
xxix. Qvaliter sacrista sancte Trinitatis Cantuarie sacri martiris Willelmi uirtutem in sanatis clerico ac palefrido manifestam senserit.
xxx. Qvaliter quedam Emma de Wichtuna ad sepulchrum sacratissimi martiris de infirmitate grauissima curata fuerit.

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xix. How by the merits of the holy martyr the divine virtue assisted certain sailors in perils of the sea.
xx. Concerning a poor woman's swine healed of their disorder.
xxi. How a mortality among some oxen was on many occasions checked by the virtue of the holy martyr William.
xxii. Concerning a certain Ida delivered from most severe pain.
xxiii. Concerning the wonderful vision of a certain maiden.
xxiv. Concerning one Goldeburga recovered when wasting away.
xxv. Concerning the daughter of Bartholomew de Creke delivered from a fever.
xxvi. Concerning one cured of the dropsy.
xxvii. Concerning a certain boy of ten years old who was brought to the sepulchre of the holy martyr and suddenly felt relief from his long infirmity.
xxviii. How a certain Hildebrand recovered from his long infirmity.
xxix. How the Sacrist of the Holy Trinity Church at Canterbury had experience of the manifest virtue of the holy martyr William in the healing of his palfrey and his clerk.
xxx. How a certain Emma de Wighton was cured at the sepulchre of the most holy martyr of a most serious infirmity.

xxxi. Qvaliter plurimi per puluerem de lamina sepulchri eius abrasum et cum aqua benedicta bibitum egritudinis sue perceperint remedium.

xxxii. Qvaliter filius Alurici de sartrino monachorum de gutturis inflatura curatus fuerit. *Expliciunt capitula.*

i. *De translatione corporis sancti in capitulum: liber tertius.*

VBI moderatrix uniuersorum gratia Christi beatum martirem suum et gloriosum gloriosiorem efficere et in quanta gloria post mortem carnis uiueret fidelibus uoluit populis declarare, reuelatione uenerabili et mirifica transferendum a cimiterio indicauit. Consummatis siquidem sex post beati martiris Willelmi in cimiterio tumulationem annis, prima quadragesime ebdomada feria secunda, dum ego Thomas Norwici in confratrum dormitorio monachorum post matutinos lecto quiescerem in uisu noctis diuina reuelante gracia uenerabilem et memoria non indignam uidere promerui uisionem. Videbam quippe mihi assistere uirum uultu et canicie uenerandum, indumentis episcopalibus incomparabili candore renitentibus superindutum. Hic pontificali quem gerebat baculo me excitans ait: Surge, frater, et Helÿe priori filio dilecto

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xxxi. How many received a remedy for their illnesses by the dust that was scraped from the railing of his sepulchre and drunk with holy water.

xxxii. How the son of Aluric, of the Monks' Tailory, was cured of a wen in his throat.

i. *Concerning the translation of the Saint's body into the Chapter House.*

When the grace of Christ that governs all things willed to make his blessed and glorious martyr more glorious, and to make known to the faithful in how great glory he was living after his death in the flesh—He intimated by an awful and wondrous revelation that he should be removed from the cemetery of the monks. Accordingly when six years had past since the burial of the blessed Martyr William in the Cemetery, on Tuesday in the first week of Lent, whilst I Thomas was resting on my bed after matins in the dormitory of my brother monks, I was thought worthy to see in a dream of the night an awful and memorable vision by revelation of the divine favour.

For I saw standing by me a man of venerable look with grey hair, clothed in Episcopal robes that glistened with an incomparable whiteness. He rousing me with the Episcopal staff which he carried said; "Arise, brother! and make haste to bid my beloved son Elias the

dicere festina ut et ipse episcopo Willelmo ex mea parte denuntiet quatinus preciosissimum illum thesaurum quem cimiterio fratres habent reconditum quamtotius inde transferant; quoniam si negligentie impulsu paterne iussioni non obaudierint, eos citius illum ad maximum ecclesie detrimentum amissuros cognoscant. Tunc sciscitanti mihi quisnam esset qui talia nuntiaret respondit: Ego sum ille HEREBERTVS huius Norwicensis ecclesie primus dei gratia fundator. Vade igitur, frater, et hec ad filios paterni mandati per<fer> intersigna. Recordentur, inquam, quia mihi ad regis curiam proficissci solito quandoque quasi suggerendo deprecari solebant ut ad ecclesie sue decus aliquas a rege uenerabiles sanctorum perquirere studerem reliquias. Quibus ego non me rem eiusmodi tunc, sed terras et redditus quesiturum aiebam; quia post aliquanti spacium temporis diuina ministrante gratia eos tantas et tam uenerabiles habere contingeret reliquias, unde ecclesia Norwicensis plurimum exaltaretur, totique anglie celebris et transmarinis partibus foret uenerabilis. He sunt, inquam, quas transferendas premonui reliquias, et quas nisi maturius intro conferantur fur in deliberationis stans uestibulo premiis conductus

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Prior that he himself must announce to Bishop William from me that as soon as may be they must remove that most precious treasure which the brethren keep hidden away in their cemetery, since, if they will not obey my paternal order, but yield to their sloth, let them know that very soon they will lose that treasure to the great harm of their Church." Then as I inquired who was making this announcement to me, he answered.

"I am that HERBERT, the first founder by God's grace of this Church of Norwich. Wherefore, my brother, go thy way and carry these tokens of my paternal mandate to my sons. Let them remember that their wont was when I used to set out for the court of the King, to pray of me that I should endeavour to obtain from the King some venerable relics of the Saints as an ornament of their Church. But I used to say to them that I would seek for nothing of this sort then, but lands and rents, because the time would come when, by God's grace assisting them, they would have such great and worshipful relics as that by them the Church of Norwich would be greatly exalted and become celebrated through the whole of England and become conspicuous in the parts beyond the sea. These, I declare, are those relics which I told you before would be bestowed upon you: and, unless very soon they be gathered together within the precincts, a thief who now stands on the threshold of deliberation, led on by hope of gain, is

sullaturus accingitur. Mane ergo, frater, cum surrexeris, quibus indixi filiis paterna mandata perferre non negligas. Quibus dictis abscessit. Expergefactus autem ego dum uisionem animo diligentius reuoluerem, reuoluenti michi reuelatio illa Gamalielis ad Lucianum statim occurrit. Vnde ex industria iniunctum exequi mandatum ad horam distuli, quoniam magnopere secundam et terciam reuelationem affectaui. Cum uero due pertransissent ebdomade, ante diluculum illuscescentis dominice, quando *Oculi mei* decantatur, quiescenti mihi itidem ut prius idem uenerabilis presul Herebertus assistere uisus est et ait: Quare negotium, frater, tibi iniunctum retardasti? Quare mandato nostro non obaudisti? Impiger esto internuntius, quoniam ecclesie pernecessaria est in hac re maturatio. Ecce plurimis conducti sunt muneribus qui quem ante dixi thesaurum furentur iam et auferant. Surge itaque, frater, surge, et quod iniunxi mandatum exequi non differas. Et hec dicens recessit. Surgens igitur, quia iam illuxerat, continuo ad ecclesiam properaui, totamque ante dominicum altare in orationibus animam coram domino effudi. Multis precibus cum lacrimis diuinam exoraui miserationem ne tercia

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girding himself up to carry them off. Wherefore, brother, when thou risest in the morning neglect thou not to carry my paternal orders to those my sons whom I have named."

With which words he vanished. But while I was very diligently thinking the vision over in my mind, that revelation of Gamaliel to Lucian[1] straightway occurred to me. Wherefore I carefully deferred carrying out the mandate laid upon me for a season, since I greatly set my heart upon a second and third revelation. But when two weeks had passed, upon daybreak of the Sunday when *Oculi mei* is sung[2], while I was reposing in the same place as before, the same Bishop Herbert appeared to be standing by me and said: "Brother, why hast thou delayed the business laid upon thee? Why hast thou not obeyed my mandate? Be thou a quick messenger, since haste is very necessary to my Church in this matter. Lo, there are those who are tempted by great bribes, who will rob the treasure that I told thee of before, and take it away. Wherefore arise, brother! arise, and delay not to carry out the order which I have laid upon thee!" Thus saying he vanished. And I, because it was now light, straightway hurried into the Church and poured out all my soul in prayers to the Lord before the high altar; and with many prayers and tears I besought the divine pity

[1] Concerning the relics of St Stephen...*Acta SS.* Aug. 3.

[2] That is, the Third Sunday in Lent.

frustrarer reuelatione. Quod autem postulaui, deo annuente optinere promerui. Dum etenim sub diluculo illuscescentis dominice, qua *Isti sunt dies quos obseruare debetis* decantare consueuit ecclesia, in lecto pausarem, uenire mihi uidebatur memoratus presul Herebertus, tenensque dextera puerum quasi duodennem, pontificali quem sinistra gestabat baculo me tetigit et excitauit. Expergefactus igitur, nec tamen, credo, bene uigilans, cum erecto modicum capite oculos sursum eleuassem, ipsum coram me quo predixi modo consistentem conspexi. Qui quasi ex indignatione caput quatiens et comminans baculo ait ad me: Nisi iste quem dextera me tenere conspicis patronus tuus esset et pro te interuenisset, iam iam quod patris precepto inobediens fuisti acerrima lueres pena. Tunc arripiens me per sinistrum brachium strinxit, excussit, brachioque impressa pollicis uestigia manifesta reliquit. Et ait: Tu siquidem, Thoma, incredulus Thomas fuisti: uel saltem iam crede. Ecce, inquam, gloriosus puer et dominice reuera passionis imitator Willelmus assistit, qui se absque dilatione a cimiterio introrsus transferri expetit. Quod si summa festinatione prouisum non fuerit, pro certo fratres nouerint eos illum

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that I might not miss a third revelation. But what I begged for, that by God's goodness I was vouchsafed. For as the dawn was beginning to break of the Sunday when the Church's custom is to sing *Isti sunt dies quos observare debetis*[1], while I was resting on my bed the Bishop Herbert seemed to come to me, and, holding by the right hand a little boy of 12 years, he touched me and awoke me with his pontifical staff which he carried in his left hand. So I awakened, and yet, I believe, not quite conscious, with my head a little raised, I lifted up my eyes, and beheld him standing before me in the same way that I mentioned before. And he as in anger shaking his head and threatening me with his staff said to me: "Unless he whom thou seest me holding with my right hand had been thy protector and had interceded for thee, even now hadst thou paid a very severe penalty, for thou hast been disobedient to the precept of thy Father." Then catching me by the left arm he pinched me, shook me, and left a plain mark of his thumb imprinted upon me; and he said, "Though indeed, Thomas, thou hast been an unbelieving Thomas, yet now believe. Lo! the glorious boy William stands beside thee, the true imitator of the Lord's Passion; he seeks to be transferred from the cemetery to the interior of the Church without any tarrying. If this be not granted him with utmost

[1] That is, the Sunday in Passion-week.

in proximo, nisi deus prouideat, amissuros. Expergiscere ergo, et surgens denuntia episcopo et priori que illis nuntianda tibi iniunximus. Locus uero quem sibi amodo manendum preelegit capitulum est, lapisque puerorum sedibus interponendus. His dictis, cum me statim uestibus induissem et subducto aliquantulum cuculle caputio oculos extersissem, quos ante uideram intuitu diligentiori perquirebam. Verum cum iam non apparuissent, et ideo me illa non nisi per sompnum uidisse existimarem, grauatis adhuc et plenis sopore oculis caput demisi atque iterum dormire cepi. Tunc quippe uisum est mihi quasi aliquos de fratribus mecum ex precepto prioris ad beati martiris Willelmi sepulchrum accedere, aperire, purissimoque argento et candidissimo plenum inuenire. Quod excipientes mundissimisque [mundissimisque (*sic*)] lintheaminibus inuoluentes cum claustro inferremus, preeunte cum episcopo priore, tantum utpote suscepturus thesaurum, maximus candidatorum contra ueniebat conuentus. Et thurificato uelut mihi uidebatur eo, procedentibus processionaliter fratribus, illum intra ecclesiam ante altare dominicum asportabamus. Episcopus autem sermone ad populum habito multe uenerationis thesaurum

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speed, let the brethren know assuredly that, unless God prevent it, they will soon lose him. Arouse thee then, and having risen announce to the Bishop and Prior those things which I have bidden thee to make known. As for the place which he has chosen for himself that he may abide in, it is the Chapter-house, and his tomb is to be placed among the boys' seats."

At these words, when, having put on my garments and pushed back the hood of my cowl a little, I had rubbed my eyes, I searched very carefully for those whom I had before beheld. But when now they were no longer to be seen, and I began to think that I had only seen them in my sleep, my eyes being heavy and full of sleep, I laid down my head and again began to slumber.

Then it seemed to me that certain of the brethren went with me by the Prior's orders to the sepulchre of the blessed martyr William, opened it, and found it filled with the purest and brightest silver. This we took and wrapped it in finest linen, and brought it into the cloister; and a great assembly of men clothed in white came to meet us, preceded by the Bishop and Prior, as if to receive this great treasure. And it seemed to me that after the treasure had been incensed, the brethren going on in procession, we bore it within the Church before the high altar. And the Bishop preached a sermon to the people in which he showed that a treasure of great renown had, by God's grace,

dei gratia Norwicensibus attributum demonstrauit. Tunc erexit se beatissimus puer et martir et euocato episcopo ait: Iube, domine pater, mihi lectulum in capitulo preparari, quia ibi paulisper inter pueros puer ipse pausare desidero, postmodum ad ecclesiam denuo reuersurus. Iussit itaque episcopus ipsum quo petebat deportari. Quod et ita fieri dum mihi per uisum uideretur, expergefactus subito et circumspiciens nichil eorum me uidere que mihi ante uisa uidebantur admiratus sum. Proinde ad me ipsum reuersus sompnii uisionem fuisse agnoui. Mane uero surgens, ubi iuxta ordinem loquendi daretur facultas, priorem Helÿam conueni eique paterna propalaui mandata. Qui ualde exhilaratus tum quoniam certa patris intersigna susceperat, tum quia ecclesie Norwicensi multe commoditatis honorem pullulare cernebat, uisionem ac rei geste seriem episcopo retexuit. Episcopus igitur super his deo gratias egit, atque de translationis modo cum priore agere cepit. Quid multa? Indicitur dies, hora, rei gerende modus, et qui negotium exequantur fratres. Ad id sex deputantur, quorum numero ego Thomas interesse merui. Denique adueniente

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been bestowed upon the people of Norwich. Then the most blessed boy and martyr raised himself up and calling upon the Bishop, said, "Give order, Lord and Father, that a little resting-place be made ready for me in the Chapter-house, because there for a little while, as a boy among the boys, I desire to rest. Hereafter I intend again to return into the Church." Hereupon the Bishop ordered that he should be carried whither he requested.

This, as it seemed to me in my vision, was being carried out when suddenly I awoke, and looking round me I marvelled to see nothing of those things which before seemed to me to be apparent. Then I came to myself, and knew that it had been a vision in my sleep. But when I arose in the morning and permission was given me in accordance with the rule to speak, I betook me to the Prior Elias, and I made known to him the paternal mandate. Whereat greatly rejoicing, as well because he recognised the sure tokens of our Father as because he perceived that the growth of an honour of great price for the Church of Norwich was signified, he communicated to the Bishop the vision and the particulars of what had occurred. Wherefore the Bishop gave thanks to God for these things and began to consult with the Prior concerning the manner of the translation. Accordingly the day, the hour, and the arrangements were fixed, and who of the brethren should carry out the business. For the doing of which six were appointed, of whom I, Thomas, was thought worthy

sub die determinata rei gerende hora, ferie scilicet quarte post pascha florum nocte, nocturnis completis laudibus, cum preter nos sex totus se dormitorio contulisset conuentus, decantatis prius septem salmis cum letania ad exequendum opus nobis iniunctum antelucani accingimur. Accedentibus uero nobis ad sepulchrum quo egregia illa beati Martiris claudebatur gleba atque hesitantibus quis prior ictum daret, subitus horror nos arripuit. Verum ego herentibus pre timore sociis animum resumpsi, arreptoque cuneo ferreo et iuncture lapidum apposito, grandi malleo fortiter percussi atque ad tercium ictum subintrante cuneo a lapide lapis cepit seiungi. Quo uiso socii collatis uiribus ad lapidem superiorem amouendum conuolarunt. Quo deposito, retro abeuntibus ceteris nec intuitum intro defigere audentibus, ego et alius quidam de consociis audacter accedimus et ad intuendum ceteros inuitamus. Tunc adhibito copioso candelarum lumine pariter conspeximus rei ut erat ueritatem. Dumque eum intueremur, anteriores duos dentes a maxilla segregatos seorsum iacere comperi. Quos uidens et primo an caperem hesitans, pio denique incitatus furto nesci-

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to be one. Accordingly on the day appointed, to wit on Wednesday after Palm Sunday at night after *Lauds* were finished, and when all the convent, except us six, had betaken themselves to the dormitory, we, having sung the seven Psalms[1] and Litany, before daybreak set ourselves to carry out the work which had been enjoined us. But when we came to the grave where the glorious dust of the blessed Martyr was buried, and were hesitating who should strike the first blow, a sudden horror seized us. But, while my companions in their fear held back, I recovered myself, and taking an iron wedge and fixing it in a crevice of the stones, I smote it stoutly with a heavy mallet, and at the third blow, as the wedge made way, the stones began to part asunder. At the sight of which my companions uniting in their exertions tried all together to move the stone that was on the top. When it was taken off and laid down, while the others retired, as not daring to gaze upon what was inside, I and another of the company boldly approached, and we invited the others to look in. Then by the help of abundant light from our candles we all together saw the very truth. And as we gazed upon him, I noticed that two front teeth had become loosened from the jaw and were lying by themselves. Which when I saw, and, at first hesitating whether I

[1] The 6th, 32nd, 38th, 51st, 102nd, 130th, and 148th. The first three are appointed for the morning service, the last three for the evening service, and the 51st for the commination service on Ash Wednesday in our Liturgy.

entibus sociis collegi: collectos, mundissimo panniculo inuolui, et inuolutos secreto loco recondidi. Nec illos me habere quisquam scire potuit, donec postea idipsum et ipse reuelauit. Quibus reuelatis, ex aqua qua illos lauare solemus, sicut in consequentibus declarabitur, multos multotiens curatos fuisse probauimus. Martirem itaque summa leuatum cum reuerentia et candidissimis inuolutum lintheaminibus pallio cooperuimus atque uniuersa, clarescente iam aurora, diligenti consummauimus cura. Decantata uero tunc prima conuentus festiue accedens capitulo illum intulit, ubi a lathomis et cementariis fossa preparata sarcofagum immissum fuerat, eo scilicet quo ipse antea per uisum petiuerat loco. Sed illud in oculis assistentium mirabile apparuit, unde nos plurimus tenuit stupor. Vrgebat etenim tum episcopi mandatum tum prior presens assistens et iubens quatinus ita res gereretur ut sarcophagum fosse immissum pauimento coequatum nichil uel parum promineret. Itaque laborant cementarii, hinc pontificale mandatum, inde prioris assistentis explere preceptum. Summa siquidem adhibita diligentia sarcophagi spissitudinem ad fosse conferentes

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should take them, at last, tempted to a pious theft, I took them without my companions observing me, and when I had taken them I wrapped them in a small piece of cloth without soil and I hid them in a secret place; and no one could have known that I had them until afterwards he himself disclosed the fact. When they were revealed, we proved that by the water in which we used to wash those teeth, as I shall tell in what follows, many people on many occasions were made whole. So then with utmost reverence we lifted up the martyr, and we wrapped him in white linen, and covered him with a pall, and, when the dawn was now beginning to spread over all things, we finished our work with diligence and care. Then first, after Prime had been sung, the convent joyfully coming to us bore him into the Chapter-house, where a grave had been made ready by stone-masons and plasterers, and a sarcophagus had been placed there, to wit in the very place which he had begged for in the vision. But lo! before the eyes of all present a marvel appeared, at the which a great amazement struck us all. For the commandment of the Bishop was urgent; and the Prior too, who was present and assisting, kept ordering that it should be so managed that the sarcophagus which was placed in the grave should be almost on a level with the pavement. And accordingly the masons set to work to obey the mandate of the Bishop on the one hand, and the orders of the Prior who was present on the other. So using all diligence and comparing

profunditatem, quod iussi fuerant se pro libito exequi nullatenus dubitabant. Sed diuina dispensante gratia res in contrarium uersa est. Nempe inter hec aliter ad libitum disponebat homo et seruus atque aliter ad martiris sui uenerationem preordinauerat deus et dominus. Fossa sepulcrum, sepulcro corpus immittitur: sed superposita lamina fere tota pauimentum super eminere inuenitur. Indignatus ad hec prior statim deponi laminam et exposito iterum corpore terram iterum suffodi iubet et exponi, ut reposito corpore et superposita denuo lamina uel sic pauimento sepulcrum queat coaptari. Dumque cura huiusmodi ministerium ministri operis diligenter satagerent, qui in sanctis suis gloriosus est dominus seruum suum martirem manifeste glorificauit. Quod enim, nec tamen ad uelle prioris, sepulcrum antea contigit prominere, modo ibi diuina latenter operante gratia in oculis astantium patenter cernebatur iam quasi excreuisse. Ad hec uisa fratrum letatur conuentus, et nonnulli pre gaudio lacrimati sunt: et qui paulo ante de sepulcri depressione doluerant, de eiusdem postea per manifestam diuine uirtutis ostensionem exaltatione plurimum

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the dimensions of the sarcophagus with the depth of the grave, they had no doubt whatever that they had obeyed their injunctions. But the Divine grace ordered it so that it turned out quite contrary to their expectations. Verily, in this matter, man, the servant, was proposing all things according to his pleasure, and, for the honour of His own martyr, our God and Lord had disposed otherwise. The sarcophagus was placed in the grave and the body in the sarcophagus, but when the lid was laid in its place it was found to stand out above the pavement altogether. Hereat the Prior being angry straightway ordered the lid to be removed; the body was again exposed, and he ordered the grave to be dug a second time and the earth to be thrown out so that when the body was put back and the lid once more put on, the sepulchre might be made level with the pavement. But while the workmen were carefully carrying out their orders with this intent, the Lord who is glorified in His saints glorified in a manifest way His servant the martyr. For whereas the sepulchre, contrary to the Prior's will, previously stood out above the level, so now, by the divine grace mysteriously assisting, lo! there, before the eyes of those who were standing by, it was observed evidently to have risen up as it were. When this was seen the whole convent of the brethren rejoiced, and some for very joy shed tears, and they who a little while before had lamented the lowering of the sepulchre were exceeding glad at the subsequent exaltation of it by the plain exhibition

gaudebant. Stupefactus ad hec prior ita esse permisit quoniam diuine ulterius resistere uoluntati securum non credidit.

ii. *De manifesta sepulchri exaltatione.*

VERITATE attestante uerum fore didicimus quia exaltatus humiliabitur atque e conuerso exaltabitur humiliatus. Cum etenim ad inuitatos in parabolis loqueretur dominus, inuitatum premonuit ne scilicet iniussus primum presumeret occupare locum, ne honoratioribus uno post alium super uenientibus tandem cum rubore extremum cogatur locum optinere. Subiungens deinde docuit recumbenti nouissimam preeligendam sedem ut postmodum ab inuitatore recumbentium considerante et discuciente merita, audire mereatur: *Amice, ascende superius.* Tunc quippe utrinque contingat condigne pro meritis, ut scilicet exaltetur se humilians et deponatur se exaltans. Quam se exaltantis depositionem considerans psalmista quasi insultando ait: *Vidi impium super exaltatum et eleuatum sicut cedros Libani: et transiui et ecce non erat*, et cetera. Se humiliantibus uero exaltationem apostolus Petrus

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of the divine power. Whereupon the Prior, amazed, allowed it to be as it was, since he did not think it safe any more to resist the divine will.

ii. *Concerning the manifest Exaltation of the Sepulchre.*

By the testimony of the Truth we have learnt that it is true how "*he that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*" For verily the Lord when He was speaking to those that were invited in parables, warned those invited that no one unbidden should take the first place, "lest when those more honourable than he should come, then he would be compelled with shame to take the lowest place." Then he added and taught him that sits down to sit down in the lowest seat, so that afterwards he might deserve to hear from the master of the feast, as he considered and distinguished the deserts of the guests: "*Friend, go up higher.*" Then verily each would get according to his deserts, so that he who humbleth himself is exalted, and he that exalteth himself is abased. The which setting down of him that exalteth himself, the Psalmist having in his mind, says in reproachful fashion, "*I have seen the wicked in great power, and exalted like a green bay tree: I went by, and lo! he was gone,*" &c. But the Apostle Peter, following the footsteps of his mistress the truth, proclaims the exaltation of those that humble themselves saying,

magistre ueritatis sequens uestigia predicauit dicens: *Humiliamini sub potenti manu dei ut uos exaltet in tempore uisitationis.* Porro beata et gloriosa uirgo Maria utrumque uersus breuitate conclusit, dicens: *Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltauit humiles.* Hanc equidem humilis exaltationem, tot et tantis predicatam preconiis, circa glorificandi martiris sui sepulcrum gratia uoluit diuina nostris experiri conspectibus. Nos nempe qui sepulcri supereminentiam prima die mensurauimus, nil tamen futuri tunc suspicantes euentus, completo anno rem reuera incredibilem sed uisu plurimorum expertam experti et nos sumus. Comperientes etenim tam subitam sepulchri exaltationem eminentie illius memoratam adhibuimus mensuram, supra quam et plenum palmum (*sic*) excreuisse probauimus. Et quod coram deo teste loquor, plebs me silente Norwicensis et cognouit et predicat. Ne autem gestorum seriem ab emulis rescindere dicar, quod descripte translationi ea que postmodum completo gesta sunt anno ita prepostere statim interseruerim quasi nil memoria dignum interfuerit, respondeo, ac facti causam subiungo. Quoniam inquam in descripta translatione admirabilem illam sepulcri, diuino eam in oculis nostris dispen-

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"*Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of* God *that he may exalt you in due time.*" Moreover the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary comprehends both truths in a single verse, saying, "*He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble and meek.*" Verily this exaltation of the humble, proclaimed by so many and such great witnesses, did the divine grace choose to approve to our eyes in the sepulchre of His martyr who was to be glorified.

We however, who on the first day measured the height of the sepulchre above the floor, having then no suspicion of what was going to happen, at the end of a year ourselves discovered a fact really incredible, but which was proved in the presence of very many. For when in the first instance we noticed the sudden raising of the sepulchre, we applied the measure aforesaid to that eminence, and we proved that it had grown above that original height a full hand's breadth. And that which I declare, calling God to witness, the people of Norwich, though I should hold my peace, knows and proclaims.

But that I may not be said to have interrupted the course of my narrative by inserting in the story of the translation certain matters which happened after the lapse of a year, as though nothing worth mentioning had occurred in the meanwhile, I answer, and add the cause of my doing so. Since then in the narrative of the translation I recorded that wonderful lifting up of the sepulchre, what

sante nutu, eleuationem commemoraui, eam illi que magis ac magis usque ad anni expletionem excreuit exaltatio non incongrue, ut reor continuaui. Hoc itaque ita egi, non ut ordinem gestorum rescinderem, sed ut similia similibus conferrem.

iii. *De tapeto ablato et luminari prohibito.*

ANNO itaque ab incarnatione dominica M°. C°. quinquagesimo translato, uelut premissum est, intra capitulum uenerando martiris corpore, feria quarta post pascha florum, tunc scilicet idus aprilis, consequenti dominica qua dominice resurrectionis gaudia recolebantur, quorundam consilio consodalium ego Thomas ad uenerandi martiris sub tam uenerabili die uenerationem tapeto sepulcrum eius cooperui atque capiti illius cereum grandem quem ipse ad ipsum preparaueram illuminatum apposui. Quo audito prior Helias grauiter quidem tulit, et que quasi presumptuoso ausu apposita fuerant, uiliter auferri nec ulterius apponi precepit. Vnde plurima pars conuentus plurimum scandalizata est et contur-

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time the divine approval ordered it so before our eyes, it was not inappropriate, I think, to subjoin thereto the account of the exaltation, which increased up to the end of a full year. Accordingly I did so, not so as to alter the order of events, but that I might associate like things with like.

iii. *Concerning the carpet that was removed, and the light that was forbidden.*

So then in the year of our Lord 1150, when, as has been shown, the sacred body of the martyr had been removed into the Chapter-house on Wednesday after Palm Sunday, that is, on the 13th April[1]; on the following Sunday, being that in which the joy of the Lord's resurrection is commemorated, I, Thomas, by the advice of some of my companions, to show reverence on so great a day for the worshipful martyr, covered his sepulchre with a carpet, and set up at his head a great wax taper lighted, which I had provided for this purpose. But when Prior Elias heard of it he was much offended, and gave orders that what had been set up there presumptuously and audaciously should be rudely taken away, and not be set up again. At this the larger part of the convent was greatly scandalised and

[1] The Year letter for 1150 A.D. was A, the Golden number 11. Therefore Easter fell on the 16th April, and Wednesday would be the 12th, not the 13th. Query FERIA QUINTA?

bata eisque factum illud eo magis displicuit quoniam mali animi signum fuit. Veruntamen, ut aiunt, magis gestum est aliorum hoc consilio et inuidie instinctu quam ex propria prioris dispensatione. Quod uero melius estimo, tam sapientis uiri prouida discretio presumptionis nostre ausum per eiusmodi uoluit corrigere et cohibere factum.

iv. *De quodam clerico a dolore dentium liberato.*

BEATUM uero martirem suum eadem ipsa die diuina glorificare cepit clementia qua illum audax infestare presumpsit malitia, diuinoque inditio multa dignum ueneratione patuit, qua indignum proterua maliuolentia adiudicauit. Ipso namque die paschali quidam Willelmi uicecomitis clericus, Gaufridus nomine, grauissimo dentium dolore uexatus, trahente illum et ducente deuotionis affectu ad sepulcrum beati martiris aduenit. Magistre fidei instinctu particulam cementi accepit, dentes confricando tetigit, et dolore confestim ac si mali nichil habuisset mitigato, incolumis a sepulcro remeauit.

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disturbed, and was the more displeased because it was an evidence of hostility. But, as some say, this was done by the advice of others and from the urgings of envy rather than of the Prior's own motive.

Yet what I rather think is, that the prudent discretion of so wise a man desired by this kind of treatment to correct and restrain my presumptuous temerity.

iv. *Concerning a certain Cleric cured of toothache.*

But on that very same day on which that audacious malice presumed to cast a slight upon the martyr, the divine mercy began to glorify him, and he was proved worthy of much veneration by a sign of God, whereby He adjudged him unworthy of the spiteful ill-will. For on Easter Day a certain clerk of William the Sheriff[1], Gaufridus by name, tortured by a very dreadful toothache, came to the sepulchre of the blessed martyr, a feeling of devotion drawing and leading him there. Prompted by his faith which taught him, he took a morsel of the cement [of the sepulchre] and touched his teeth, rubbing them with it, and immediately the pain was stilled as if he had had nothing the matter with him, and he went away from the sepulchre whole.

[1] William de Cheyney, brother of John : see p. 112.

v. *De monacho a dolore consimili curato.*

EODEM ferme tempore Edmundus iunior monachus Norwicensis tam uehementi dentium urgebatur dolore ut nimis tumens gengiua manifesta doloris daret inditia. Is clericum prescriptum ad memoriam reducens per merita beati martiris itidem quasi curandus ad idem mox confugit asỳlum, ut dolori suo mendicaret remedium. Quod autem fide bona quesiuit, sine mora consequi promeruit. Vbi enim dolenti facie sepulcri lapidem tetigit, dolore confestim sedato, omnem exinaniri sensit tumorem.

vi. *De cuiusdam uiri religiosi uenerabili uisione.*

HISDEM quoque diebus cuidam decoram et uenerabilem uidere contigit uisionem. Erat quippe Norwici monachus quidam uita et moribus religiosus, uir reuera cui multum credi deceat, Petrus Peuerellus nomine. Qui miles quondam in seculo regi diutissime seruierat Henrico, ac inter thalami sui annumeratus

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v. *Concerning a monk cured of a similar pain.*

About the same time Edmund the younger, a monk of Norwich, was troubled with so terrible a toothache that the excessive swelling of the gums gave a clear proof of his suffering. This man, remembering the clerk aforesaid, betook himself to the same place of refuge to try a remedy for his pain, as though seeking to be cured by the merits of the blessed martyr. But what in true faith he besought, that he was deemed worthy to obtain without delay; for when he touched the stone of the sepulchre with his suffering face, straightway the pain was allayed and he felt all the swelling disappear.

vi. *Concerning a wonderful vision of a certain Religious man.*

In these days it befell a certain man to see a beautiful and wonderful vision.

There was at Norwich a certain monk, a religious man in his life and conduct: a man indeed in whom much confidence might be placed, and his name was Peter Peverell[1], who when a knight living

[1] Peter Peverell was brother of Sir Matthew Peverell, Lord of Peverell's Manor in Great Melton. Sir Matthew gave certain lands in Melton to the Priory at Norwich, on condition that his brother Peter was received as a monk among the brethren. The original Charter referring to this transaction, and the confirmation of it, are to be found in the Register of the Priory now at Norwich. See Blomefield, v. n. 7. Also Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, ii. 258.

fuerat priuatissimos. Is in uisu nocturne quietis nocte quadam uidit se quasi in ecclesia existentem uidere et admirari turbam candidatorum innumerabilem cum uariis et consonis concentibus ecclesiam subintrantem. Sub aduentu eorum tantus splendor radiabat quantum humanus oculus sustinere non poterat. Tum ille uni eorum uenusti aspectus uenerabili interrogauit dicens: Que est, domine, gens hec tam admirabilis et decora cum tanta huc adueniens gloria? Cui ille: Ecce, ait, regina celi et mundi domina cum hac sua familia aduenit, amicum suum qui penes uos est uisitare dilectissimum. Iamque intro cum puellis abiit secretum cum eo habitura colloquium. Quo audito, monachus uehementer expauit, neque ibidem ultra morari ausus, ecclesiam exiit. Cumque uelut sibi uidebatur claustrum subintrauisset et capitulo proximaret, odor inestimabilis aduenientis se infudit naribus. Transiturus uero capitulum cum, ut moris est, imagini dominice se inclinaret, intro prospiciens uidet gloriosam illam celi et terre imperatricem ad caput sepulchri aureo sedili regio ornatu adornato residentem, auroque ac gemmis incomparabili nitore renitentibus

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in the world, had long served King Henry and had been numbered among his attendants in the Privy Chamber. This man as he was sleeping quietly saw himself in a vision of the night standing as it were in the Church and looking with wonder at an innumerable throng of men clothed in white, and entering the Church with a varied and sweet concert of music. At their entrance so great a brightness shone forth as no human eye could bear. Then he questioned one of these beings, of a beautiful and venerable aspect, saying, "Lord, what is this so wonderful and beautiful a company coming hither with such great glory?" To whom the other answered, "Behold the queen of heaven and mistress of the world cometh with her attendants to visit her most dear friend who is with you; and now has she gone within with her maidens to hold secret converse with him."

Which when the monk heard, he was grievously afraid, nor did he dare to stay there any longer, but went out of the Church. But when, as it appeared to him, he had entered the cloister and was approaching the Chapter-house, an exquisite fragrance greeted his nostrils. And, being about to pass the Chapter-house, when according to custom he was bowing himself before the image of the Lord, looking in he saw the glorious Empress of heaven and earth seated at the head of the sepulchre on a golden seat adorned with royal ornaments, and crowned with gold and gems that sparkled with in-

coronatam. Ad cuius dexteram et leuam mire pulcritudinis due assistebant uirgines cereos accensos manibus tenentes. Coram illa beatus puer et martir Willelmus capite inclinato flexisque assistebat genibus. Cui gloriosa domini mater tercia sibi flores administrante puella, ex illis coronam plectebat admirabilem et paratam eius imponebat capiti. Hanc martiris beati gloriam dum intentius attenderet monachus, et inde multum miraretur, accessit ad eum uirgo que flores, ut dixi, administrabat. Et ait: Quid stupes uel quid miraris? Et ille: Quia scilicet quid hic geratur ignoro et scire ualde desidero. Cui illa: Ecce regina celi et domini mater patronum huic ecclesie adeo assignatum martirem Willelmum amicum equidem suum uisitare dilectum uenit, coronauit, eique pro libito curandi potestatem contulit. Vade ergo nunc, eumque a modo uenerare; quoniam dies uenient quando ipsius ope et tu maxime indigebis. Quod et ita contigit, sicut posterius declarabitur. Quibus dictis, celestis illa uisio disparuit, et euigilans monachus que uiderat diligentius reuoluere cepit. Mane uero facto, que per uisum uiderat cum fratribus enarrasset, ab ea die et deinceps ceperunt plurimi sepulcrum sancti martiris

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comparable splendour. On her right hand and on her left two virgins were standing of wondrous beauty, holding in their hands lighted tapers, and before her the boy martyr William was attending with bowed head and bended knees; for whom the glorious mother of our Lord was plaiting a marvellous crown of flowers with which a third damsel was supplying her, and when the crown was ready she put it upon his head. While the monk was gazing wistfully at this glory of the blessed martyr and wondering thereat, the virgin who, as I said, was supplying flowers came to him, and said, "Why art thou amazed, and why wonderest thou?" and he answered, "Because I know not what is being done here and I greatly desire to know." To whom she replied, "Behold, here, the queen of heaven and the mother of our Lord hath come to visit her beloved friend, the patron assigned to this Church, the martyr William. She has crowned him and has conferred upon him the power of healing at his will. Go thy way therefore now, and from this time pay him reverence, since the days will come when thou too shalt greatly need his aid!" Which too so came to pass as shall be explained hereafter.

At these words the heavenly vision passed away and the monk awakened began carefully to turn over what he had seen. But when the morning came, and he had narrated to the brethren what he had seen in the vision, from that day forward many of them began

plurimum uenerari et orationibus frequentare. Ex quibus nonnullos dicentes audiuimus se ibidem sepissime suauissimi odoris sensisse fraglantiam ex illo uenerabili sacratissimi martiris sepulcro prodeuntem.

vii. *De quadam a languore diuturno curata.*

NEC multo post Claricia uxor Gaufridi de Marci et Geroldensium fratrum neptis ad beatissimi martiris uenit sepulcrum desideratum infirmitatis sue querens remedium. Hec per aliquot dolore renum ac genuum laborauerat annos, nec per aliquos, licet in illis multum expenderit, curari potuit medicos. Veniens uero manibus se ducentium, immo magis ductu fidei ad illud uenerabile sepulcrum, aliquamdiu stans orauit ac deinde, genibus proposse flexis, ea nudata nudo lapidi applicuit. Ad cuius confestim tactum memoratus membrorum dolor cepit mitigari, ut iam sentiret diu amissam sospitatem quasi diuisim membris refundi. Sicque factum est, ut que manibus alienis corpore inbecillis aduenerat, celesti operante medicina, nullius egens adminiculo incolumis rediret et sospes.

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to shew much honour to the holy martyr's sepulchre and to pay their devotions there. Among whom I have heard many say that they perceived there the perfume of a most sweet savour, proceeding from that wondrous sepulchre of the most holy Martyr.

vii. *Concerning a certain woman cured of a long-standing sickness.*

Not long after this Claricia, wife of Gaufridus de Marc[1] and niece of the brothers Gerold[2] came to the sepulchre of the most blessed martyr seeking a much desired remedy for her infirmity. This lady had been suffering for some years from pain in the reins and knees, nor could she be cured by any physicians, though she spent much upon them. But coming to this worshipful sepulchre by means of those who led her there, or rather by the leading of her faith, standing there for a little while she offered up a prayer, and then bending her knees as far as she was able she applied them all bare to the bare stone. And immediately at the touch of it the aforementioned pain in her limbs began to abate so that she felt already the long lost soundness spreading through her limbs. Thus it came to pass that she who came with her feeble body by the hands of others, when the heavenly medicine did its work, went back safe and sound needing no man's support.

[1] Gaufridus, probably Lord of Markshall, 4 miles from Norwich.

[2] Clearly Warin and Henry FitzGerald, chamberlains to Henry II. from 1153—1170.

viii. *De altera a profluuio liberata.*

POST paucos deinde dies, ad festum sancte trinitatis, in octabis scilicet pentecostes, uenit Alanus de Sechehutha cum uxore sua Muriele, qui et que patruus et matertera Ricardi tunc subprioris Norwicensis erant. Hec diuturna profluuii laborabat ualitudine, nec per tantum tempus, plurima licet adhibita medicina, egritudini sue remedium potuit inuenire. Veniens uero ad memoratum martiris sepulcrum, genua flexit, duas pro se et domino suo candelas optulit, et cum lacrimis salutem postulauit. Pura deprecantis oratio celos pulsauit, diuineque pietatis gratia mira uelocitate ad ima se contulit. Completa etenim oratione et cum summa deuotione deosculato sepulcri lapide, statim stare sensit profluuium quod prius fluere nec cessabat uel ad momentum. Tum multo gauisa gaudio me uocauit, et quia me pre ceteris priuatum ac familiarem habebat, michi priuatim reuelauit quam repente uel qua egritudine curata sit.

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viii. *Concerning another woman delivered from a flux.*

A few days after this at the feast of the Holy Trinity, that is, on the Octave of Pentecost, came Alan de Setchy[1] with Muriel his wife. He was the uncle and she the aunt of Richard then sub-Prior of Norwich. This lady had been suffering from a long-standing flux, nor yet during all the time, though she had taken much medicine, could she find any remedy for her sickness. But coming to the forementioned sepulchre of the martyr she bent her knees and offered two candles for herself and her husband and begged for deliverance with tears. The simple prayer as she prayed knocked at the heavens and the grace of GOD's pity came down with wonderful rapidity. For at the end of her prayer, and when with deep devotion she had kissed the stone of the sepulchre, immediately she felt her issue stop which till then had never ceased to flow. Then rejoicing with exceeding joy she called me, and because she esteemed me above others as an intimate friend, she told me privately how suddenly she had been cured and of what complaint.

[1] Setchy, on the Nar, three miles from Lynn.

ix. *De puero morti proximo et meritis sancti Willelmi sanato.*

DIEBUS illis infantulus filius Radulfi nepotis prioris Helÿe ad mortem egrotabat et iam hore supreme mors sola supererat. Vnde patri consultum est et matri ut in longum et latum ad mensuram pueri festinantissime candela fieret, factam sancto Willelmo pro filii sospitate uoueren<t, et pro>cul dubio statim puerum in<col>umem incolumes reciperent. Confestim ergo, prout dictum est, candela conficitur, et paternis delata manibus ad sepulcrum sancti martiris uotaliter offertur. Regrediens pater filium se reperire gaudet incolumem quem pauloante dimiserat morientem.

x. *Qualiter monachus dormiendi potentiam quam amiserat meritis sancti Willelmi recuperauit.*

CIRCA idem tempus senior monachus Norwicensis diutina uexatus imbecillitate, Thomas nomine, cella iacebat infirmorum. Is amissa per triduum dormiendi potentia cepit grauiter laborare, et precipue noctibus, quibus nec ad modicum oculi eius ualebant quiescere. Multa igitur angustie maceratus pressura,

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ix. *Concerning the boy who being nigh unto death was cured by the merits of Saint William.*

In those days the infant son of Radulfus, Prior Elias' nephew, was sick unto death and his last hour was at hand. So his father and mother were advised that a candle of the length and breadth of the little boy should be made with utmost haste, and that when it was made they should offer it to Saint William for the restoration of their son, and that without doubt they would receive back their son safe and whole. Wherefore as was advised, straightway the candle was made, and having been brought by the father's hands it was offered as a votive offering at the sepulchre of the holy martyr. The father on his return rejoiced to find his son safe whom a little while before he had given up for dead.

x. *How a certain monk by the merits of St William recovered the power of sleeping which he had lost.*

About the same time, the eldest of the Norwich monks, Thomas by name, afflicted by long infirmity, was lying in the Infirmary. He having lost the power of sleep for three days began to be sore distressed, especially at night time, when his eyes were unable to rest for a moment. So being brought very low by the pressure of this affliction,

se ad gloriosi martiris Willelmi quem maxima diligebat deuotione conuertit suffragia, huiusmodi breuem fundens orationem: Domine sancte Willelme, si tante ut dicitur coram deo uirtutis et sanctitatis es,—immo quia es,—da mihi famulo tuo posse quiescere et quam amisi dormiendi potentiam recuperare. His dictis siluit, nullaque interposita dilatione oculis paulatim cecutientibus dormitare cepit, et postmodum dormire. Sompni uero ac quietis suauitate recreatus, ubi uigilans caput erexit, ad se conuocatis nobis deo et sancto Willelmo gratias agit, per cuius merita dormiendi potentiam quam amiserat recuperare promeruit.

xi. *Quod domina Mabilia de Bec et filii eius sancti martiris frequenter experti sunt uirtutem.*

PER idem tempus domina Mabilia Beccensis Norwicum adueniens, tantarumque uirtutum famam animaduertens ad illud gloriosum beati martiris sepulcrum uenire studuit, precordialiter orauit, atque pie deuotionis studio de sepulcri lamina excussam secum asportauit portiunculam. Hanc summa custodire

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he betook himself to supplicating the glorious Martyr William, whom he loved with exceeding devotion, pouring out a short prayer of this kind, "O holy Lord William! If as it is said thou art, yea, because thou art of so great estimation and sanctity in the presence of God, grant to me thy servant to be able to get some rest that I may recover the power of sleeping which I have lost." So saying, he was silent and without any delay his eyes gradually closed, and in a little he began to doze and then to sleep. But after being refreshed by the comfort of quiet slumber, when on awakening he raised his head, he called us to him and gave thanks to God and Saint William by whose merits he had been vouchsafed the recovery of his power of sleeping which he had lost.

xi. *How the Lady Mabel de Bec and her sons had frequent experience of the holy Martyr's influence.*

About the same time the Lady Mabel de Bec[1], coming to Norwich and noticing the fame of his great merits, determined to repair to that glorious sepulchre of the blessed Martyr; she prayed with all her heart, and with the fervency of pious devotion she brought away with her a small portion of the slab of the sepulchre. This

[1] She was one of the benefactors of the Priory of Norwich in the time of Pope Eugenius III., A.D. 1145—1153. Blomefield, Vol. x. p. 227, and VIII. p. 456. On the family see *Bek* in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

curauit diligentia uelut efficacem fidei sue fructum sibi ac suis frequenter profuturum. Quia uero fideliter sperauit, spes eius frustratoria esse non meruit. Quotiens enim ipsa uel filii eius ualitudinis alicuius incurrerent molestiam, continuo ad non insperatam quam fides administrauerat confugiebant medicinam. Atque inuocato dei et sancti martiris Willelmi adiutorio rasum et aqua benedicta distemperatum bibebant lapidem, ac mox leuamen atque repentinam diuine gratie experiebantur uirtutem.

xii. *De uisione Ricardi Monachi et eius morte et recuperatione luminis.*

CVM his et aliis pius martyr florere sic inchoasset uirtutibus, inter tanta pietatis opera aliquantulum tamen eum exacerbari et erga quendam sibi inobedientem contigit irasci. Idque, uelut conicimus, eo maxime fuit, quoniam aliquos eius pacientia cernebat abuti dum tapetum et luminare prohibitum sibi necdum paterentur restitui; ut hoc scilicet facto et timorem eis incuteret et ad corrigendum quod male gesserant illorum animos inuitaret. Illud

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she was careful to guard with the utmost diligence as likely to produce frequently for herself and her children fruitful results of her faith. And inasmuch as she confidently hoped, so her hope proved to be no vain one. For as often as she or her children experienced the inconvenience of any complaint, she resorted at once to the remedy which she had confidence in and which her faith had provided for her; and calling upon the help of God and of the holy Martyr William, they used to drink a mixture made of the scrapings of the stone steeped in holy water, and soon they experienced relief and knew the speedy virtue of the divine grace.

xii. *Concerning the Vision of Richard the Monk, and his death, and concerning the restoration of the light.*

When by reason of these and other virtues the blessed martyr began to wax famous, among the many operations of his goodness it came to pass nevertheless that he was to some degree provoked and angry with here and there one who was disobedient to him: (and, as we conjectured, that was especially the case since he saw that some abused his patience in removing the carpet and the light and not allowing them to be restored); in order that hereby he might inspire them with fear, and induce them to correct their evil doings. Therefore it pleased him to make known by sure signs

igitur se moleste ferre certis intersignis declarare uoluit, et per quendam Ricardum de Lunna monachum quidem Norwicensem priori Helÿe mandare curauit. Porro Ricardus ille diebus illis tenebatur febribus multoque acrius de die in diem torquebatur. Vnde nostro et quorundam aliorum inuitatus consilio, ad sepedictum perrexit sepulcrum beati martiris ibique nocturne uigilie uacans orationibus, ab ipso remedium poposcit sanitatis. Dumque ibidem cum duobus excubaret famulis, subito capitulum niger intrauit porcus, immo, ut a quibusdam creditur, sub specie porci diabolus. Qui ex improuiso introiens atque grunniens, assurgentibus famulis et forsan exterritis, directo cursu ad monachum iacentem cucurrit, super eum inopinato prosiliit, et dormitantem mirum in modum exterruit. Quo uiso statim insurgentes concurrunt famuli eumque capitulo uix expellunt. Ad quem a claustro expellendum nonnulli accurrerunt monachorum, multisque per claustrum factis discursuum amfractibus, claustro eum uix tandem potuerunt excludere. At, uelut plurimis conici potest circumstantiis, antiquus ille generis humani inimicus, qui semper sanctorum inuidet successibus eorumque calcaneo molitur insidias, fortassis per materialem illum porcum,

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that he was displeased thereat, and he took care to send his mandate to the Prior Elias, through a certain Richard of Lynn, a monk of Norwich.

This Richard was in those days seized with a fever and suffered worse and worse from day to day. Wherefore, moved thereto by my advice and that of many others, he repaired to the oft-mentioned sepulchre of the blessed Martyr, and spending the night watch in prayers, he begged of him a recovery of his health.

And whilst he was lying there with two servants, suddenly a black pig entered the Chapter-house, or rather, as is believed of some, the devil under the appearance of a pig. The which entering suddenly and grunting, when the servants started up and, I wot, were much terrified—he made straight for the monk as he lay there, and with a rush he jumped upon him and frightened him dreadfully as he slept. Then straightway the servants recovering themselves ran to him and with difficulty turned him out of the Chapter-house. Then some of the monks came running to drive him out of the cloister, and after much chasing of him on the part of the monks hither and thither they had hard work to shut him out of the cloister. But as may be conjectured from many circumstances, that old enemy of the human race who always begrudges the saints their triumphs, and is ever trying to *bruise their heel* did peradventure by means of that ma-

animal scilicet spurcissimum et sibi congruum, uel monacho uoluit illudere uel ad deuotionis eius excuciendum propositum ita eum proposuit exterrere. Interea capitulo ad sepulcrum memoratus iacebat egrotus, et contra illuscentem (*sic*) iterum dormitans auroram, in uisu uidit assistentem sibi sanctum Willelmum et dicentem: Cur aduenisti, Ricarde, uel quid queris? Et ille: Quoniam infirmor, domine, et sanari cupio. Cui martir: Nichil attulisti, nichil obtulisti, frater, sed tamen si te curauero quid remunerationis daturus es? Contra monachus: Quid, inquit, domine, dabo, qui nil quod dare honorifice tibi possim possideo? Ad hec martir: Die que candelarum dicitur natus candelas diligo, et ideo nimirum candelas quas habes requiro. Cumque ille nullas se habere diceret, adiecit: Immo, frater, et quas non recte perquisisti habes, ex quibus aliquas grandiores ac pulcriores, quas segregatas secretius abdidisti priuatim possides. Omnes siquidem habere uolo, et precipue pulcriores illas quas tu fratris uxori dandas disposuisti. Et monachus: Nequaquam, domine, fieri potest ut quas illi preparaui tibi tribuam; alteras uero, qualescunque tamen

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terial pig—a creature surely among the filthiest and akin to himself—wish either to make a mock at the monk or so to frighten him as to hinder him from carrying out his plan of devotion. Meanwhile the aforesaid sick man was lying by the sepulchre in the Chapter-house, and again was sleeping till the dawn began to break; and he saw in a vision Saint William standing by him and saying, "Why hast thou come here Richard, and what seekest thou?" And he, "Because I am sick, Lord, and I desire to be made whole." To whom spake the Martyr, "Thou hast brought nothing, thou hast offered nothing, brother. But nevertheless, if I cure thee, what reward wilt thou give?" The monk answered, "What shall I give, I who possess nothing that I could give thee in any way to do thee honour?" To this the martyr replied, "I was born on the day called Candlemas Day, and candles I love, and therefore of course I call on thee for what candles thou hast." And when he declared that he had no candles, he added, "Nay, brother, thou not only hast certain candles which thou didst acquire wrongly, but thou hast hidden away some of the largest and the handsomest which thou art keeping in thy private possession. All these I desire to have, and specially the handsomer ones which thou hast determined shall be given to thy brother's wife." Then said the monk, "That can by no means be done, Lord! that I should bestow on thee those candles which I have

ille sint, me libenter tribuente suscipere non dedigneris. Tunc in iram commotus martir subintulit: Ergo illam plusquam me diligis? Non recte, frater, diuisisti, dum quod paruipendis mihi, et quod appreciaris muliercule assignasti. Cur igitur ad me quasi curaturus a me uenis quem ex corde non diligis? Pro certo itaque noueris quod tua me inuito nullatenus stabit dispositio. Presertim has et illas quas dixi candelas mane huc afferri consulo: quod si recusaueris procul dubio scias quoniam uelis nolis illas habebo. Vt ergo nostram ineas gratiam, et quaesitas affer candelas, et domno Thome familiari secretario meo trade custodiendas. Quod ubi fecerit, ei dicito ut istas et quinque alias quas armario suo habet repositas meis usibus diligenter custodiat, quoniam in proximo est ut luminare mihi restituatur ante prohibitum. Porro Helye priori dicere non uerearis quod ei fide bona consulo ut quamcitius dedecoris mihi illati honore congruo resarciat iniuriam, atque tapetum et lucernam mihi restituat ablatam. Deus utique uult, et ita fieri iubet. Verum si nullo adquieuerit pacto, immo et iussionem nostram paruipendere atque diuine dispensationi proterua pre-

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prepared for her, but for those others, such as they are, vouchsafe to accept them as my freewill offering!"

Then the martyr, provoked to anger, replied, "So then thou lovest her more than me! Thou hast made a bad division, brother, in that what thou holdest cheap that thou hast apportioned to me and what thou valuest to the woman. Why then comest thou to me, whom thou dost not love in thy heart, as though I would cure thee? Wherefore know for certain that thy wish shall nowise be granted against my will. I do straitly counsel thee that those candles that I spake of be brought hither in the morning; but, if thou refusest, know of a surety that, whether thou wilt or not, those candles I will have. If therefore thou wouldst enter into favour with me, bring those candles that I ask for, and hand them over to Dom Thomas my private secretary to be kept in his custody. When thou hast so done, tell him that those candles and those five others which he keeps stored up in his cupboard, be diligently guarded for my use, for very soon it is certain that my light shall be restored to me which was denied me. And fear not to say to Prior Elias, that in good faith I counsel him that with due honour he atone for the wrong done me in the insult offered me, and that he restore the carpet and the lamp that was taken from me. For verily God so wills and bids this to be done. But if he will in no wise acquiesce, and even presumes to make light of my command and with a proud

sumpserit fronte contraire, non incertum habeat quod in proximo grauiter luat. Te quoque, quia peticioni mee adeo restitisti, hac denuntiatione premunio quod inobedientie tue culpam tanta lues angustia quantam antea nunquam sensisti. Si uero et adhuc nec sic correctus mihi pro libito non satisfeceris, ratum habeas quod multo grauiora pacieris. Nunc igitur uade, et si sapis dicta mea animo fideliter inhereant tuo. His uisis expergefactus Ricardus et uisione tam terribili perterritus die iam clarescente surrexit, in cella infirmorum abiit, et post hore spatium euocato cum plurimis nostrum priore, que sibi dicta uel iniuncta fuerant uniuersa enarrauit. Que tamen priori dici iussa sunt ei soli dicere curauit. Quibus auditis prior commotus aliquantulum et exterritus ueritatis indaginem diligentius exquirere disposuit, et super indictis quinque candelis me conueniens, si tamen eas me habere constaret, afferri iussit. Ego autem trium immemor quas ad sepulcrum sancti martiris die paschali allatas luminari tunc prohibito colligaueram et martiris nomine intitulatas armario seorsum reposueram, duarum tantum memor quas, ut premisimus, domina Muriel de Sechehutha

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look to rebel against the divine ordaining, let him hold it for certain that right soon he shall pay a heavy penalty. And as for thee, because thou hast thus refused my petition I forewarn thee with this denunciation, that thou shalt suffer for thy sin of disobedience such great agony as thou hast never yet known. But if even so after correction thou dost not satisfy me, be sure that thou shalt suffer much worse things. So now, get thee gone, and if thou be wise, let my words sink deep in thy heart!"

After this, Richard awakening and much terrified by so dreadful a vision, rose—now that the daylight was beginning—and went his way to the Infirmary, and after the space of an hour, the Prior with many of us being summoned, he told all that had been spoken or enjoined upon him. But what had been ordered to be said to the Prior, that he took care to tell him alone. At the hearing of which the Prior, somewhat disturbed and alarmed, determined diligently to make a searching examination into the truth; and convening me on the subject of the five candles that had been mentioned, he ordered that they should be produced if indeed it should appear that I had them. Now I had forgotten three candles, which on Easter Day had been brought to the holy Martyr's sepulchre, and which (since the light was prohibited) I had tied together and put away, labelled with the Martyr's name, in the cupboard; and only remembered the two candles which the lady Muriel de Setchy had offered on the feast of the Holy

die festo sancte trinitatis obtulerat, eas solas me habere dixi et ad afferendum cucurri. Cumque armarium apperuissem, que nondum memoria exciderant due statim reperte sunt. Quibus repertis diligentius cepi querere si forte et tres que et haberi dicebantur contingeret inuenire. Quas nimirum, quia et ibi erant, adinuentas, per memoratam inscriptionis intitulationem martiris esse cognoui; cognitas reliquis duabus coniunxi, atque completum ita quinarium ad priorem exultans ac plurimum admirans detuli. Quibus uisis prior hinc reuelatam ita secretorum ueritatem, inde minacem futurorum animo conferens sententiam, nunc applaudit et se risu gratulari simulat, nunc eum pauere pallens uultus demonstrat. Ita itaque secretorum tum reuelatione tum nuntio terribili permotus, in parte emollitus et in parte pristinam non deserens duriciem, de luminari prohibito sententiam aliquantulum relaxauit. Tapetum uero nullatenus reddi consensit. Nec multo post, superueniente febris hora, cuius ante mentionem feci Ricardus occupatus frigore membri toto cepit corpore concuti, tantaque angustia quantam antea nunquam expertus fuerat iuxta beati martiris sermonem se sensit uexari. Et sic aliquandiu uexatus iacens inuentus est ac

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Trinity; so I said that I had only those two, and I ran to fetch them. And when I had opened the cupboard, I found the two candles, which had not yet escaped my memory; and when I had found them I began to search carefully if perchance I could find those three also which were said to be in my keeping. And when I had found them—for they were there—I knew them by the fore-mentioned label to be the Martyr's. Then I added them to the other two, and with great joy and wonder I brought the full number of five to the Prior. At the sight of them the Prior, pondering in his mind on the fact that the truth of things secret had been made clear, and also on the threatening sentence concerning things that were to come to pass, did at one moment applaud and smilingly pretend to be glad, and anon by his pale face shewed that he was afraid. And so, agitated as well by the revelation of hidden things as by the dreadful message, partly softened and partly keeping up his original hardness he relaxed a little his original sentence with regard to the light; but he would by no means allow the carpet to be replaced. Not long afterwards when the hour for his ague had returned, of which I made mention before, Richard, attacked by the cold in his limbs, began to be seized with such great pain in all his body as he had never felt before and knew himself to be suffering according to the words of the blessed Martyr. And after being agonized for a long time they

uelut emortuus. Cum uero a nonnullis aqua ubertim aspergeretur benedicta, ocitare tandem cepit, et post aliquantam horam, oculis languide apertis et recreatis spiritu membris, paulatim ad se rediit. Nos itaque, qui promissorum partem adeo efficaciter cernebamus compleri, suspensis mentibus ceterorum finem expectabamus. Ab illo siquidem tempore permissione prioris ad sancti martiris sepulcrum noctibus singulis frequentari lumen consueuit, et nonnullis interdum diebus, quamquam inconcessis, candelas et cereos quos pia offerentium attulerat deuotio ibidem ardere contigit. Inter hec ubi ego Thomas, qui beati martiris tunc secretarius eram, in obsequio eius eas quinque quas supra meminimus candelas pene consumi cernerem, prescriptum Ricardum conueni, et illas quas mihi tradere iussus est interrogaui. Qui, nescio seu pigricia ductus siue in uisionis negligentiam iam dilapsus, ab hora in horam dare semper distulit, nec quandoque dedit. Contigit autem tunc temporis me ac domnum Ricardum de Ferrariis, qui postmodum

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found him lying just as if he were dead. But when holy water had been sprinkled upon him copiously, at last he began to yawn, and after about an hour his eyes opened faintly, and his limbs moved, and he gradually came to himself. Whereupon we, perceiving that a part of what had been promised was evidently coming to pass, looked out for the completion of the rest with patient expectation.

From that time, by permission of the Prior, a light was wont to be kept up every night at the holy martyr's sepulchre, and now and then too by day, although the practice was discouraged, it came to pass that candles and wax tapers were brought by pious worshippers and burnt there. Meanwhile I, Thomas, who was then the blessed martyr's secretary, perceived that the five candles that I spoke of before were nearly consumed, and I conferred with the fore-mentioned Richard and questioned him about those other candles which he was ordered to hand over to me. And he—I know not whether it was from laziness or that he had now slipt into a disregard of the vision—always deferred giving them up from day to day, nor did he give them to me at all. But it chanced that about that time I and Dom Richard de Ferrariis[1] who afterwards succeeded

[1] He appears to have been a son of Richard and grandson of the powerful Norman baron Hermer de Ferrariis on whom the Conqueror bestowed a large number of manors in Norfolk. The family soon took the name of their capital lordship in Norfolk, *Wirmegay*. Richard the Prior was one of two brothers, the elder of whom Hermer was one of the early benefactors to the Priory at Norwich at the time when his brother Richard was Prior there. Cf. Blomefield, x. 152.

Helie priori prior successit, quibusdam urgentibus causis in Helý proficisci, et peracto ibi quesito negotio die quinta Norwicum reuerti. Porro interim eger ille Ricardus dum noctu quiesceret, iterum in uisu ei uultu apparuit iracundo beatus martir Willelmus dicens: Quid est frater, quod sic agere uoluisti? Quare prout iussi domno Thome candelas non dedisti? Scio utique, scio animi tui proteruam pertinaciam. Nequaquam ut tu proposuisti sed longe aliter fieri continget. Quoniam nec tibi tradendi facultas subpeditabit, nec fratris uxor ut disponis eas de manibus tuis suscipere poterit. Ipsa quidem tui causa Norwicum ueniet, sed te minime inueniet. Scias autem Thomam meum modo absentem sed post diem tercium reuersurum quas iussi candelas ab altero suscepturum. Nunc igitur uade, atque inobedientie culpam debita luas pena. Porro sub his uerbis eum ceu palme dorso in fronte grauiter percussit, grauemque fronti dolorem inflixit atque ait: Ecce crastina sabbati dies supprema tibi et fatalis imminet. Confitens ergo age dignam de commissis penitentiam, ut saltim uel in illa per dolorem hunc purgatus transitorium et ueniam optinere

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Prior Elias as Prior, went to Ely on some important business, and having finished what we were engaged upon we returned on the 5th day to Norwich. In the meantime while Richard, the sick man, was sleeping in the night, again there appeared to him in a vision the blessed Martyr William with an angry look, and said, "How is it, brother, that thou hast chosen to act thus? Why hast thou not given the candles as I bade thee to Dom Thomas? I know, yea, I know the perverse stubbornness of thy mind. By no means as thou hast purposed but very differently shall things come about. For neither shalt thou have the power of handing them over, nor shall the brother's wife, as thou intendest, be able to receive them from thy hands. For her, she will come to Norwich on thy account, but she will not find thee. Know that my Thomas is now absent, but will return after the third day to receive from another the candles that I have given orders for. Now therefore go thy way and pay thou the due penalty for thy sin of disobedience."

With these words he smote him heavily on the forehead with the back of his hand and caused him severe pain in his forehead, and said, "Lo! to-morrow is Saturday, and it is thy last day, the day of thy death. Go, therefore, and make thy confession, and do penance worthy of thy misdeeds, that so purified by this passing pain, thou mayest be counted worthy to receive pardon and escape the punishment which is eternal."

merearis et supplicium euadere sempiternum. Ad hec Ricardus terrore percussus excitatur, sentitque statim dolorem a fronte inchoantem in caput refundi ac postmodum a capite in cetera deorsum membra paulatim deriuari. Surgentibus mane monachis surgit et ille, atque imbecillia sustentans baculo membra, capellam infirmorum subiit, et quibusdam ad se uisitandum uenientibus, que uiderit, quid sentiret, cum lacrimis enarrauit. Tunc quendam fratrem secretius euocans, corde compunctus ante mentis oculos pristinam reuocat uitam, et iuxta sancti martiris monita memoriter male gesta retractans confitetur, atque compuncti penitentiam cordis profusis indicauit lacrimis. Sicque per illam oris confessionem ac puram cordis penitentiam eum a domino opt<i>nuisse credimus ueniam. Modico postmodum more interuallo, dum baculo sustentatus per cellam infirmorum se ageret, moriendi hora superueniente ac uiribus pre dolore iam deficientibus, subito concidit et rem se agere suppremam uultu funereo demonstrauit. Quid inquam multa? Moritur frater, et morienti conueniunt ceteri, moremque funeri exhibentes, die consequenti sepeliunt. Illud quoque mirabile tunc accidit, quod scilicet die illa sabbati, cum pro mortuo classicum pulsaretur, iuxta martiris presagium et

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Hereat Richard smitten with fear awoke, and felt the pain straightway beginning in his forehead, extending over his head and afterwards travelling from his head downwards through all his limbs.

When the monks rose in the morning, he too rose and, supporting his feeble limbs upon a staff, went into the Chapel of the Infirmary and when some of them came to visit him, told them with tears what he felt and what he had seen. Then secretly calling one of the brethren, he, in sorrow of heart, recalled before his mind's eye his past life, and according to the advice of the holy Martyr, bringing back to his memory his misdoings, made confession, and gave proof with abundant tears of the penitence of his humbled heart. And so by that confession of the mouth and sincere penitence of the heart, we believe that he obtained pardon of the Lord. A little time after, while, leaning on his staff, he was making his way through the Infirmary, his last hour approached, and his strength leaving him by reason of his pain, he suddenly fell, and made it clear by his death-like look that he was near his end. And so the brother died, and as he was a-dying the others gathered round him, and with all due rites they buried him next day. And then this wonder happened, namely, that on that Saturday when the bell was tolling for the dead man, in accordance with the Martyr's prophecy,

fratris eius uxor illius causa Norwicum uenit: sed quia uiuentem non inuenit, fructu frustrata laboris domum cum dolore remeauit. Vbi uero postridie memoratus de Ferrariis Ricardus et ego domum aduenimus et que circa fratrem interim gesta sunt cognoscentes nimio terrore concussi sumus. Aduenienti uero mihi per manus Dionisii camerarii tradite sunt candele de quibus in precedentibus tanta facta est mentio. Sicque, prout martir predixerat, reuera contigit fieri: quoniam illas et non ab illo cui iussum fuerat, sed aliena mihi manu contigit tradi. Vnde accidit ut gloriosus Christi martir ab ea die in reliquum maiori frequentaretur timore ac reuerentia, et multiplicatis sub uniuersorum cordibus reuerentie incrementis, pullularet et cresceret erga ipsum pie deuotionis affectus.

xiii. *Quomodo Willelmus sacrista Norwicensis a dolore capitis, a surditie auris, et obscuritate uisus curatus sit.*

MORABATVR eo tempore Willelmus sacrista Norwicensis in cella infirmorum, grandi quidem ac diuturna profluentis fici detentus egritudine. Interdum quoque per illud uirgule uirilis membrum sepissime liquidum et plerumque coagulatum emingebat

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his brother's wife did come to Norwich on his account, but because she did not find him, she went back home again in sorrow, and without any reward for her trouble.

But next day, when the aforesaid Richard de Ferrariis and I returned and had knowledge of what had happened, we were smitten with very great alarm: and on my arrival the candles about which so much has been said before were delivered to me by the hand of Denis the Chamberlain. And thus all turned out as the martyr had predicted, since it came to pass that they were handed over to me, and not by him to whom the order was given, but by another hand.

Thus it came to pass that Christ's glorious martyr from that day forward was repaired to with more and more fear and awe, and with ever increasing reverence from the hearts of all, and the service of a pious devotion towards him went on growing and increasing.

xiii. *How William the Sacrist of Norwich was cured of headache, and deafness, and dimness of sight.*

At that time William the Sacrist of Norwich was staying in the Infirmary, detained there by a malady of long standing.

sanguinem. Iamque per huiusmodi corrupte nature incommodum gradatim in tantam dilapsus est morbi ualitudinem, ut iam doloris uehementia caput a dextera quasi dimidiatum inutile redderet, oculo uisum perturbaret, et aure assiduo quodam oppleta tinnitu naturalem illum auditus meatum surditie pigra obstrueret. Vnde a nobis commonitus cereum admodum grande sibi parari iussit ac de prima noctis uigilia ad illud iam tunc uenerabile sancti martiris sepulcrum ueniens cereum accensum optulit, atque ibidem peruigil in orationibus pernoctauit. Orabat autem ad dominum ut gloriosi martiris sui suffragantibus meritis et capitis dolorem mitigari, uisumque sibi pariter et auditum reparari experiretur; et quia sub eius animo fides spei cooperabatur, quod credidit et sperauit sine dilatione optinere promeruit. Mane etenim capitis dolorem sensit mitigatum, oculusque et auris diuine perceperunt recreationis antidotum. Vbi igitur se curatum capite comperit, cum leticia ab illo medicabili regressus sepulcro sancti martiris laudes quantis potuit efferre preconiis non cessauit. Attendat inter hec diligens lectoris sollertia magis facti sic acti rationem et ordinem quam maliuolam det<r>ectatorum garrulitatem. Siquidem dum hunc plurimis detentum incommodis non funditus sed in parte curatum fuisse audit, quid aliud ex his concipiat nisi quoniam in talibus nichil sine causa contingat? Consideret, inquam, primo qua intentione ductus ad sepulcrum uenit, secundo quid petiit, tercio in quo exaudiri promeruit. Ex quorum collatione fortassis percipiet unde totius questionis scrupulum dissoluat. Nempe uenit eger, sed ut spiritualibus orationum mercibus celestem corpori compararet medicinam. Exin, licet circa inferiora grauiter ut premisimus pateretur, nil tamen aliud exorare tunc uenit, nisi ut dolore capitis lenito languescens iam uisus repararetur et auditus. Denique in eo nimirum exaudiri meruit in quo fideliter postulauit. Vnde et conici potest quia et si de reliquo pariter postulasset, et illud fortassis pariter optinuisset. Sepe audiuimus et legimus nonnullos egrotantium ita sanctorum sanatos meritis ut et in parte curati et ex parte sint destituti. Quid ergo mirum si sanctus martir Willelmus diuine pietatis administratione fratri egrotanti in hoc tantum subuenit de quo tantum requisitus fuit? Et quid mirum si sic in parte salutem prestitit quod reliquum in aliud

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The reader is referred to the original for the minute particulars of this unsavoury case.

tempus reseruauit? Quod autem in posterum dilatum extitit, non incongrue cum ad id uentum fuerit suo adnotandum loco distulimus.

xiv. *De quadam ab egritudine diuturna liberata.*

TEMPORE illo quedam Alditha Norwici manens Toke cerarii uxor graui quidem et diuturna detinebatur ualitudine. Singula nempe membra adeo doloris occupauerat uehementia ut nec hora minima uel minimam quietem perciperet, nec sine baculo gressum figeret, nec omnino aliquid operis manibus efficere posset. Cumque sub tanta egritudine dimidium consumpsis(set) annum, amicorum consilio ad salubre se transtulit consilium. Grandem igitur fieri iussit candelam, quam mox ut beato martiri Willelmo uouit, uehementem illam doloris angustiam mitescere sensit. Inuitata itaque talibus salutis sue primiciis, ad illud iam famosum martiris sepulcrum super presenti gratias relatura benefitio, opemque de cetero petitura statim cum candela properauit; optulit, orauit, domumque regressa breui conualuit.

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xiv. *Concerning a certain woman delivered from an illness of long standing.*

At that time a certain Alditha living at Norwich, wife of Toke a chandler, was suffering from a serious and long-standing illness. Every one of her limbs was so racked with dreadful pain that she had not the least ease for a single hour, and could neither move a step without a stick nor could do any kind of work with her hands. And when half a year had passed in this great affliction, by the advice of her friends she surrendered herself to wholesome advice. Accordingly she ordered a large candle to be made which she then offered to the blessed martyr William, and she felt that cruel pain began to lessen. Wherefore, encouraged by these first signs of recovery, she repaired with a candle to the now famous sepulchre of the martyr intending to offer thanks for her present benefit, and to ask help for the future. She made her offering, she prayed, she returned home, and in a little while she was whole.

xv. *De altera per uisum miro modo curata.*

FVIT diebus illis Norwici mulier quedam paupercula in hospitali quod Brichtiue dicebatur iacens, morbi diuturna laborans ualitudine, ac sui omnino impotens. Erat quippe toto inflata et ulcerosa corpore ac tanquam elephantino perculsa incommodo miserabile et horrendum intuentibus prebebat spectaculum. Cumque per annum et amplius tali ac tanta laborasset egritudine, in uisu noctis uenit ad illam beatus martir Willelmus et ait: Tue compassus miserie misereor tui, mulier, tuoque languori salutare uenio conferre remedium. Tunc a capite per membra singula medicabilem illam deducens dexteram uniuersum tam subito lenire uidebatur dolorem, ac si olle feruentissime frigidissimam iniecisset aquam. Manum preeuntem salus consequebatur uelocissima, et ad digitorum medicantium presentiam fugiens excedebat infirmitas. Conuersusque ad illam martir ait: Ecce sana facta es: age gratias deo ac mihi quoque, per cuius manum te diuina curauit gratia, proprioque labore adquisitam mihi afferre non differas candelam. Expergefacta mulier dolorem mitigatum sentit continuo, et quod

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xv. *Concerning another woman cured in a wonderful way by a vision.*

There was in those days at Norwich a certain poor woman lying in the hospital which was called Brichtiu's Hospital[1]. She had been suffering for a long time from her sickness and was quite helpless. All her body was swollen and ulcerated and, as though afflicted with elephantiasis, she presented a miserable and horrible spectacle to all beholders. When she had been suffering for more than a year from this great sickness, the blessed martyr William came to her in a vision of the night and said, "Because I have compassion upon thy misery, woman! I pity thee, and I come to bestow on thee a saving remedy for thy sufferings." Then moving that healing right hand of his over all her limbs, it seemed that he relieved all the pain as suddenly as if he had thrown cold water into a boiling pot. The cure followed upon his hand with utmost speed, and at the touch of his healing fingers infirmity put to flight passed away. Then the martyr turning to her said, "Lo! thou art made whole! Give thanks to God, and to me too, by whose hand the Divine grace has cured thee. Delay not to offer unto me a candle earned by thine own toil."

On awakening the woman at once felt that her pain was lessened,

[1] No mention of this hospital has come down to us.

per uisum dormiens uiderat non aliter se habere uigilans exultat. Surgens igitur sana, deo ac liberatori suo gratias egit, labore manuum candele precium adquisiuit, et cum illa ad martŷris sepulcrum ueniens optulit et gratulabunda recessit.

xvi. *De muto nato et curato.*

ERAT iterum Norwici Colobernus quidam satis equidem honestam licet pauperem cum uxore Ansfrida nomine ducens uitam. Hi filium habentes fere septennem, sed a natiuitate mutum, dum nocte quadam pariter quiescerent, intempesta noctis hora unoque eiusdem hore momento a quadam reuerendi uultus persona per uisum pariter admoniti sunt ut memoratum filium suum crastino ad sancti martiris sepulcrum adducerent, ubi et super eiusdem salute congauderent. Mane igitur facto sompnium sompnio conferentes sicut in sompniis admoniti fuerant cum filio muto ad memoratum properant sepulcrum. Cumque diutius in oratione inibi una perstitissent, et tandem per manum pueri candelam optulissent, puer deosculato sepulcro ad patrem se conuertens et matrem in loquelam subito prorupit maternam, ut scilicet domum regrederentur rogans. Quo audito pater ac mater

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and she was delighted that what she had seen in a vision when asleep was indeed so, now that she was awake. So rising all healed she gave thanks to God and her deliverer, she earned the price of a candle by the labour of her hands, and she went with it and offered it at the martyr's sepulchre, and returned home full of joy.

xvi. *Concerning one born dumb who was cured.*

At Norwich again there was a certain Colobern who led a very honest life, though poor, with his wife Ansfrida by name. They had a son about seven years old but dumb from his birth. One night while they were asleep together, in the dead of night at the same moment they were both admonished by a personage of reverend aspect, that they should on the morrow bring their son to the holy martyr's sepulchre, where they should rejoice together at his recovery. So when it became day, comparing their several dreams together, they hurried with their dumb son to the sepulchre as they had been admonished in their dreams. And when they had continued together in prayer there for a long time, and at length had offered a candle held in the boy's hand, when the boy had kissed the sepulchre and turned to his father and mother, he suddenly broke forth in his mother tongue asking that they might go back home. When they heard him, the father and mother could not

se a lacrimis pre leticia continere non poterant. Nos quoque qui aderamus talia considerantes pietate compuncti fleuimus. Cumque nobis tum uisionem tum rei aperuissent euentum, cum filio iam non muto gratulantes reuertuntur, et nos dominum in sancto martire suo Willelmo magnificum collaudauimus.

xvii. *De puero a dissenteria curato.*

CVM tantorum fama miraculorum magis ac magis quasi pullulando crebresceret, atque uniuersorum iam aures circumquaque pulsaret, ceperunt plurimi ad sepulcrum illud salubre undique confluere, uotisque et orationibus diuina ibidem beneficia postulare. Inter quos quidam Robertus Palmarius Norwicensis illuc ductu fidei aduenit, filium annuo dissenterie laborantem incommodo adduxit. Cui cum puluis de cemento illius sancti sepulcri aqua distemperatus benedicta ad hauriendum daretur, statim et dolorem leuigari et uigorem repentinum membris iam effetis paulatim sensit refundi. Pater autem nobis postmodum retulit, ab illa die filio dissenterie cessasse fluxum, qua pariter cum sacro potu sanitatis quoque hausisset remedium.

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restrain themselves from tears of joy. And we too who were present observing such things as these, and constrained by our piety, we too wept. And when they had explained to us the vision and what had followed upon it, they went their way with their son, no longer dumb, and we gave praise to our Lord who had done great things by the hand of His holy martyr William.

xvii. *Concerning a boy cured of a dysentery.*

When the fame of such great miracles began to spread and increase more and more, and was assailing the ears of all men round about, many people from all quarters began to repair to that health-giving sepulchre and to ask for divine benefits with their offerings and their prayers. Among whom a certain Robert the Palmer of Norwich came there, led by his faith, and brought with him his son who had been troubled for a year with a grievous dysentery. He, when there was given him to drink some of the powdered cement of that holy sepulchre, dissolved in holy water, straightway felt his pain relieved and a sudden vigour gradually restored to his feeble limbs. The father afterwards told us that the flux of the dysentery had ceased with his son from the day on which, together with the sacred draught, he had drunk in a wholesome cure.

xviii. *De muliere quadam a diuturno languore curata.*

ERAT quoque in regia uilla que Ormesbi dicitur quidam Galterus cognomento Flotberd, qui diuturna ualitudine laborantem habebat uxorem. Ea per annum grauissimo cordis ac membrorum afflicta dolore ad extremum tandem defectum, quasi pelle sola ossibus adherente, deducta est. A ipso autem sacro martire Willelmo per uisum admonita se nauigio Norwicum asportari fecit. Quo ueniens, manibus suorum ad sepe memoratum sancti martiris sepulcrum deducitur. Oratione facta, post candele oblationem ibidem obdormiuit et continuo melius habuit. Postea uero ductu suorum hospicium recessit atque post triduum rediens candelam ad sepulcri mensuram factam optulit, plenumque tunc sub puncto temporis diutini languoris remedium suscepit. Et factum est, ut que alieno sustentata adminiculo aduenerat, propriis iam confisa uiribus sola gradiens discessit, domum rediit, et exinde prescripte ualitudinis incommodum non sensit.

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xviii. *Concerning a certain woman cured of a long-standing decline.*

There was in the royal town[1] which is called Ormesby a certain Walter Flotberd by name who had a wife troubled by an obstinate illness. She suffered for a whole year from severe pain in her heart and limbs, and at last she was brought down to such emaciation that she was mere skin and bones. But admonished in a vision by the holy martyr William himself, she caused herself to be carried by ship to Norwich. On her arrival she was carried by her servants to the oft-mentioned sepulchre of the holy martyr; and having offered her candle and said her prayer, she went to sleep there and straightway she became better. After this she returned to her inn, being carried there by her attendants; and when three days had passed she came again and offered a candle which had been made of the same length as the sepulchre; whereupon in a moment she obtained a perfect cure of her stubborn disease. And so it came to pass that she who had come supported by the hands of others went away on her feet; and trusting now only to her own powers, she returned home, and from that time felt no inconvenience from the complaint above mentioned.

[1] The Lordship of the town of Ormesby (5 miles from Yarmouth) was taken into his own hands by William the Conqueror. It remained in the Crown till the 14th year of Henry II. (A.D. 1212).

xix. *De nautis in mari liberatis.*

NAVTIS quoque quibusdam de Gernemutha tempestate marina periclitantibus meritis beati martiris diuina subuenit pietas. Qui nempe dum essent in mari, dum ualida inualescente procella insolitus fluctuum horror mortem minaretur sub uestibulo mortis iam positi diuinam unanimiter exorant misericordiam, sanctique pueri ac martiris Willelmi pia deprecantur suffragia. Mira res! Nam, uelut ipsi nobis postea retulerunt, continuo illis sanctum martiris nomen acclamantibus eique uota uouentibus, uniuersa siluit tempestas. Illi uero tranquillitatem meritis sancti Willelmi tam subito sibi restitutam considerantes, dominum in sanctis suis gloriosum glorificauerunt, et confestim prospero cursu sani et incolumes ad litus peruenerunt.

xx. *De paupercule mulieris porco curato.*

NON solum morbis hominum, uelut in precedentibus patet, sed et animalibus brutis sancti Willelmi meritis diuina subuenit benignitas: que, sicut uniuersa condidit, ita nimirum

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xix. *Concerning the sailors on the sea who were delivered.*

The divine goodness too, by the merits of the blessed martyr, came to the help of certain sailors of Yarmouth who were in peril by reason of a tempest on the sea. For these men when they were at sea and a great storm was gathering force, and an extraordinary dread of the billows was threatening them with death, and when they were now brought to the very threshold of death, they all besought the divine mercy, and they implored the help of the sainted boy and martyr William. Then a wonderful thing happened. For, as they themselves afterwards told us, immediately on their calling on the holy name of the martyr, and while they were making their vows to him, the tempest utterly ceased. But they, considering that the calm had been brought about for them so suddenly by the merits of the sainted William, gave glory to God who is glorified in His saints, and soon with a prosperous course came to land safe and sound.

xx. *Concerning a poor woman's hog which was cured.*

Not only did the goodness of God by the merits of the sainted William afford help to the diseases of men, as is plain from what has gone before, but it helped brute beasts too; and, as it hath made all things, so no wonder that it governs and watches over each one

singula queque moderatur atque disponit. Nullique creaturarum quamquam permodice seu uilissime bonitatis sue subtrahit manum, que uniuersas intra maiestatis sue concludit sinum. Proinde mulier quedam paupercula Norwici porcos alebat, quibus adultis, eorum precio uictui suo compararet necessaria. Illos uero contigit infirmari atque, mortuo iam uno, mors imminens minabatur et alteri. Cernens ergo mulier his se rebus destitui quibus maxime sperabat adiuuari, spe recuperandi fere destituta uehementer ingemuit, et ad opem beati martiris tandem confugit. Ad cuius sepulcrum ueniens cum lacrimis orauit, candelam optulit, atque exinde regressa porcum quem morti proximum tristis reliquerat iam sanatum et incolumem repperiens exultat.

xxi. *De bobus morbidis saluti restitutis.*

EODEM tempore Dionisii camerarii monachorum Norwicensium boues consimili clade contigit emori. Quo incommodo turbatus ille iussit morbidos boues in longum et transuersum filo circumdari et ad fili mensuram sancto martiri Willelmo candelam

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of them; and from no one of His creatures, though it were the meanest and the vilest of them, does He withdraw the hand of His goodness, that goodness which embraces them all in the bosom of His majesty.

Accordingly there was a certain poor woman at Norwich, who used to keep hogs, and when they had grown to their full size she provided for herself the necessaries of life by the price she got for them. But it happened that her swine fell sick and one died and death was threatening another of them. So the woman, perceiving that under the circumstances she was being left destitute of the means of support which she hoped for, almost losing hope of a recovery, wailed greatly, and at last betook herself to the help of the blessed martyr. And coming to his sepulchre she prayed with tears; she offered a candle, and then going home again she was overjoyed at finding the hog, which in her distress she had left almost dead, now cured and safe.

xxi. *Concerning the oxen stricken with the plague restored to health.*

At the same time it chanced that the oxen of Denis the chamberlain of the Norwich monks were dying of exactly the same visitation. Whereupon he, disturbed by the misfortune, ordered that all the oxen that were suffering from the plague should be surrounded with a thread and a candle to be made according to the measure of the

fieri. Factam itaque ad sepulcrum eius attulit et optulit, atque ab ea hora cladem in bobus cessare cognouit. Consimili quoque modo quidam equestris ordinis Goscelinus cognomine Grossus, dum boues suos pestifera lue carpi sensisset, nonnullis iam mortuis, superstitibus reliquis subuenire properauit. Nec mora, filo boues circumdedit, in nomine sancti Willelmi candelam fieri iussit, factamque ad sepulcrum eius attulit. Denuo domum ueniens cum boues nouisset iam conualuisse, exinde sacri martiris Willelmi uirtutem uniuersis predicauit, quam se in bobus manifeste experire contigit.

xxii. *De quadam Yda mire curata.*

PER idem tempus Ida uxor Eustachii monetarii Norwicensis genibus per triennium gutta profligatis egrotabat. Exin per membra discurrens ac seuiens, in dextrum tandem humerum concendit morbus, et postea brachium pariter occupauit. Inualescente uero dolore, in tam horrendos prorupit clamores ut amens

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thread for the holy martyr William; and when it was made he brought it to his sepulchre and offered it there; and from that hour he noticed that the death among the oxen stopped. In like manner too a certain Goscelin le Gros[1], a man of knightly rank, when he perceived that his oxen were seized by the murrain, and some of them were already dead, he hastened to provide help for the rest who were still alive. Accordingly he too tied a thread round the oxen and ordered a candle to be made in the name of Saint William, and when it was made he brought it to his sepulchre. As soon as he reached home, and knew that his oxen were already quite well, straightway he proclaimed to all the virtue of the holy martyr William which he had manifestly experienced in the case of his oxen.

xxii. *Concerning a certain Ida cured in a marvellous way.*

About the same time Ida, the wife of Eustace the moneyer of Norwich, was suffering from the gout which for three years had afflicted her knees.

At last the disease travelled in its severity through all her limbs and finally settled in her right shoulder, and afterwards fastened upon her arm as well. The pain increased so that she broke forth into hideous

[1] The family of *le Gros* were settled at Ilsley, six miles from Norwich, for many centuries. One of them was living there in King Stephen's time, and was patron of the benefice. Blomefield, XI. 9.

putaretur, et ita quasi ad extremum deducitur. Et euocato presbitero post confessionem pre timore mortis dominici corporis se muniuit sacramento. Mane autem facto recordata sancti martiris Willelmi, qualiter potuit ad sepulcrum eius se deduci fecit. Quo perueniens iuxta procubuit ac statim horrendis clamando clamoribus, pre angustia nimia per pauimentum capituli uolutabat. Deinde post modicum fatigata quieuit, nomenque sancti Willelmi alta uoce sepius inuocans, salutis remedium postulauit. Tunc acceptam candelam optulit, et deosculato sepulcro sub ipso quo lapidem tetigit articulo in oculis assistentium apparuit incolumis. Et post aliquantam horam, que illuc ductu suorum uix aduenerat, se solam iam regredi posse miratur et exultat.

xxiii. *De uisione quadam memoranda.*

ERAT quoque Norwici Stanardus quidam cognomine Wrancberd, cuius filia Ida nomine nocte quadam uenerabilem ac memoria non indignam uidere meruit uisionem. Vidit quippe sanctum Willelmum ad caput sepulcri sui inter tres uirgines

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shrieks, insomuch that she was as one crazed, and she seemed to be drawing nigh her end. Whereupon a priest having been summoned and she having made her confession with the fear of death before her, she fortified herself with the sacrament of the Lord's body. Next morning, having in remembrance the holy martyr William, she had herself carried, the best way she could, to his sepulchre. When she got there she was laid down near it, and immediately screaming out with a hideous noise in her unbearable agony, she began to roll about the pavement of the Chapter-house. After a while she was quiet from sheer fatigue, and with a loud voice invoking the name of Saint William she asked for some health-giving remedy. Then she offered a candle which she had, and having kissed the sepulchre, at the very moment when she touched the stone, before the eyes of the by-standers she appeared cured. And after a little while, she, who had with difficulty come there by the help of others, rejoiced with amazement that she was able to go away alone.

xxiii. *Concerning a certain memorable vision.*

There was at Norwich, Stanard, surnamed Wrancberd, whose daughter Ida was deemed worthy to see a notable and memorable vision one night. For she saw St William standing at the head of the sepulchre attended by three virgins and holding a lighted taper.

stantem ac cereum illuminatum tenentem. Virgines autem circa ipsum in tribus stabant partibus, cereosque tenebant accensos. Cui per uisum ea consideranti una uirginum ait: Deprecare, puella, sanctum quem cernis martirem Willelmum, qui in despectum mortis Christi uenerabili coronatus est martyrio, quatinus deum apud quem plurimum ualet pro te interpellat. Illud quoque noueris, quod ipse unicus ac peculiaris Norwicensibus a domino datus est patronus; et ego sum uirgo Katerina que hec tibi denuntio. Ad hec expergefacta puella patri ac matri uisionem confestim retulit, quam et nobis crastino pater ipse insinuare curauit. Sed unde magis admiramur, ante illam horam pater ac mater atque puella, uelut ipsi asserebant, proprium sancti Willelmi nomen penitus ignorabant.

xxiv. *De quadam Goldeburga curata.*

DIEBVS illis mulier quedam Goldeburga nomine, cum multis egrotasset diebus, de uirtute martiris confisa, membris uix

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But the virgins were standing round about him on the three sides of the tomb and holding lighted tapers.

And as she gazed upon these things in her vision, one of the virgins said, "O maiden, make thou thy prayers to the holy martyr William whom thou beholdest, who in despite of the death of Christ was crowned with the honour of martyrdom. So may he intercede for thee with GOD, in whose presence he is of great account. Know thou this also, that he has been granted to the men of Norwich by our Lord to be their sole and special patron; and I am the Virgin Katherine who announce these things to thee!"

Hereat the damsel awakening at once told the vision to her father and mother, the which her father took care next day to communicate to us. But what surprised us the more was that before that hour the father, mother, and damsel, as they themselves asserted, had been altogether ignorant of the proper name of Saint William.

xxiv. *Concerning a certain woman Goldeburga who was cured.*

In those days a certain woman named Goldeburga, who had been ill for many days, and who had put her trust in the martyr's power, came to the sepulchre with a candle, though her limbs could hardly

se sustentantibus, ad sepulcrum eius cum candela uenit, et cum lacrimis aliquamdiu in oratione persistens egritudini sue remedium postulauit. Vbi clementis dei cooperante gratia meritis beati martiris celestem medelam paulatim membris sensit infundi, atque infra dies paucos refectis uiribus plenam optinuit sospitatem.

XXV. *De puella febribus liberata.*

BARTHOLOMEVM quoque de Creic uirum egregium tam militia quam nobilitate famosissimum uirtus sancti non latuit martiris. Cum etenim filia eius paruula forti febrium estu teneretur, egrotanti filie mater condolens candelam in nomine sancti Willelmi propriis fieri manibus studuit et pro salute filie offerendam uouit. Mira res et festina diuine uirtutis ostensio! Mox enim ubi candela fieri cepit, sub primo digitorum motu estus subito ita cessauit febrium, quemadmodum ebulliens olla

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support her, and continuing some time in prayer and with tears, besought relief from her infirmity. Whereupon through the grace of a merciful God co-operating with the merits of the blessed martyr, she felt the heavenly remedy gradually spreading through her limbs, and within a few days she obtained a perfect recovery, her health being restored.

XXV. *Concerning a damsel delivered from a fever.*

The power of the holy martyr was not unknown moreover to Bartholomew de Creak[1], a man renowned as well for his soldiery as for his noble birth. For a little daughter of his was attacked by a burning fever, and her mother being distressed at her child's illness took the trouble to make with her own hands a candle in the name of St William, and made a vow to offer it for the recovery of her daughter. A wonderful circumstance happened, and a rapid exhibition of the divine power. For immediately after the candle began to be made, yea! at the first movement of her fingers the heat of the fever abated just as a boiling saucepan begins to get quiet when cold water

[1] The family were lords of North Creak in Norfolk, from which place they took their name. This Sir Bartholomew held considerable possessions of the Bigots, Earls of Norfolk. The family became extinct in the male line in the reign of Edward I., and were benefactors of the Cluniac Priory at Castle Acre, the Augustinian Abbey of St Osyth at Chich in Essex, and the Nunnery of Flixton in Suffolk.

compesci solet per aque frigide iactum. Mater ergo pro filia candelam offerri fecit eaque ulterius febris incommodum non sensit.

xxvi. *De ydropico sanato.*

VENIT et quidam ydropicus de Tudenham ad sancti Willelmi sepulcrum ut egritudini sue salutis consequi mereretur remedium. Vbi stans aliquandiu orauit, candelam optulit, uentrisque iam tunc lenito dolore, multo alacrior quam uenerat recessit. Postea uero, dum diligentius rei euentum inquireremus, uicinie relatu curatum agnouimus.

xxvii. *De puero imbecilli curato.*

SVB tanta egrotantium confluentia uenit quoque inter ceteros quidam Rogerus de predicta Tudenham cum uxore Godiua. Hi filium decennem toto corpore inbecillem attulerunt, quia gressu proprio illuc uenire nequaquam poterat, quoniam a multis diebus se mouere seu conuertere impotens erat. Talem igitur ac fere emortuum cum planctu et fletu maximo, dum parentes eius cum

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is thrown into it. Wherefore the mother caused the candle to be offered and the girl felt no further inconvenience from the fever.

xxvi. *Concerning the cure of a man with dropsy.*

There came too a certain man with the dropsy from Tudenham[1] to St William's sepulchre if so be he might be vouchsafed a remedy to recover him of his complaint. After standing there for some time he prayed, he offered his candle, and the pain in his stomach having been assuaged he went away much more nimbly than he came. But when we had made enquiry about the subsequent issue of the matter, we were informed from the report of his neighbours that he was cured.

xxvii. *Concerning the boy cured of infirmity.*

Among this great concourse of sick folk there came, among others, a certain Roger, of Tudenham aforesaid, with his wife Godiva. These people brought with them their son ten years of age whose whole body was powerless; for he was quite unable to stir a step towards coming hither, having been unable for a long time to move or turn himself. Being in this state and almost dead, when his parents, weeping and wailing exceedingly, had brought him with some candles,

[1] Probably North Tudenham is meant, 10 miles from Norwich.

candelis attulissent, super sepulcrum a capite martiris in conspectu nostro deposuerunt. Post breuis uero spacii orationem a parentibus leuatus se iam melius habere testatus est. Quippe qui antea in nullam se partem conuertere nec alieno absque adminiculo in terram gressus ualebat uel ad modicum defigere, per se solus se tunc conuertit, deo ac sancto martiri gratias agens, cum parentibus pre gaudio lacrimantibus domum regressus est, et in breui conualuit.

xxviii. *De quodam Hildebrando curato.*

EISDEM ferme diebus Ildebrandus Norwici satis cognitus, et Pauli monachi Norwicensis germanus, infirmari cepit, et inualescente incommodo in breui lecto se contulit. Cumque ita diebus non paucis sui iacuisset inualidus, die quadam seuiente per artus molestia tandem ad extremum deduci uisus est. Inito itaque consilio, amici qui aderant continuo candelam consulunt fieri et pro salute infirmi ac sacri martiris sepulcrum deportari. Quod ubi sine dilatione completum est, ipsa hora conualescere

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they laid him in our sight upon the sepulchre near the martyr's head. After a short prayer he was lifted up by his parents and he testified that he felt better. Insomuch that he, who before had been unable to turn himself to one side or another nor without assistance from others even set his foot upon the ground, now unaided turned about by himself, and giving thanks to God and the holy martyr returned home with his parents who wept for joy, and in a little while he became quite well.

xxviii. *Concerning a certain Hildebrand who was cured.*

About the same time, Hildebrand[1], a man well known at Norwich, and a kinsman of a Norwich monk named Paul, fell sick, and his illness increasing upon him he took to his bed. When he had lain thus helpless for a long time, one day as the trouble went raging through his limbs, at last he seemed to be near his end. Hereupon taking counsel, his friends who were present advised that a candle should at once be made and should be taken to the martyr's sepulchre for the recovery of the sick man. When this was done without delay, at that very hour he began to get well, and after a

[1] I suspect this is the Hildebrand who founded the hospital which was called after his name, and that Blomefield is wrong in giving the date of that foundation to the reign of Henry III. Most likely it should be Henry II. See Blomefield, Vol. IV. 71 and 72.

cepit atque post modicum sanitati pristine restitui meruit. Presertim, sicut eorum qui egrotanti et conualescenti presentes affuerant relatu didicimus, ipso scilicet temporis instanti morbi constat acerbitatem esse lenitam, quo et candelam sancto martiri contigit fuisse oblatam.

xxix. *De clerico et palefrido sacriste Christi Cantuarie curato.*

VENERAT quoque sub idem tempus a Cancia in Nordfulc ad domesticam curam exequendam sacrista sancte Trinitatis Cantuarie et Norwicum forte diuerterat. Contigit autem dum ibi moraretur, et palefridum eius infirmari, et clericum quem socium habuerat grauissimam incurrere ualitudinem ipsa scilicet nocte cum crastino proficisci proponebat. Itaque mane surgens tanquam ad profectionem monachus, equum et socium infirmatos offendit, atque nimirum super hoc uehementer condoluit. Vnde, tanta compulsus necessitate, multa cum deuotione animi ad suffragia profugit sancti martiris Willelmi, et quod pie ac deuote orando peciit, diuina largiente gratia mox impetrare promeruit. Inde contigit ut, socio et equo sanitati restitutis, extra spem continuo

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little while was blessed with restoration to his former health. According to the testimony of those who were with him when he was ill and when he got well, we have been informed that it was at the very instant when the candle was brought to the holy martyr, that the anguish of his disease abated.

xxix. *Concerning the clerk and the palfrey of the sacrist of Christ Church, Canterbury, cured.*

About this time the sacrist of Holy Trinity Church, Canterbury, came from Kent into Norfolk on some family business and happened to repair to Norwich. But while he was staying there it chanced that his palfrey fell ill and also his clerk whom he had with him, and they became very seriously sick on the very night before they had intended to go away. So on getting up in the morning to go on his journey the monk found his horse and his companion very ill, and hereat of course he was very greatly annoyed. Wherefore urged by so great a need, with much devotion of mind he betook himself to the intervention of the holy martyr William, and what he asked for in devout and pious prayer, that he obtained by the bounty of the divine grace. So his companion and his horse

iter aggredi posset, tanquam antea nichil impedimenti pertulisset.

xxx. *De quadam Emma languente sanata.*

PER idem tempus Emma quedam de Wichtuna graui premebatur egritudine. Hec cum mira magnalia martiris Willelmi fama promulgante audiret, aliorum inuitata successibus, spe salutem iam tenens surrexit et opis gratia ad memoratum sepulcrum abiit. Quo perueniens cum summa supplicationis deuotione orauit, candelam optulit, et in spe sanitatis recessit. Statimque sub ipso reditu se pro certo comperit curatam, atque ita meritis sancti Willelmi diuinam cognouit cooperari gratiam.

xxxi. *Quod plurimi abrasi sepulcri puluere bibito curati sunt.*

CVM igitur fama sacri martiris longe lateque discurreret, quantique meriti uel uirtutis apud deum ipse sit omnibus propalaret non modica turba cepit egrotantium gloriosum sancti Willelmi frequentare sepulcrum. Alii post alios ueniunt, et abeuntibus illis uenientes et alteri succedunt, quoniam frequentes precedentium

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having recovered beyond all hope, he was able immediately to undertake his journey as though nothing had stood in his way before.

xxx. *Concerning a certain Emma who, being in ill health, was made whole.*

About the same time a certain Emma de Wighton[1] was attacked by serious illness. When she heard of the wonderful acts and the great doings of the martyr William which his fame was publishing abroad, invited by the successes of other people, she was encouraged by hope, and anxious for recovery she went to the said sepulchre for help. When she got there, with much devout supplication, she made her prayer and she offered her candle. Immediately on her return she discovered that she was certainly cured, and so she got to know that divine grace cooperates with the merits of Saint William.

xxxi. *How many people by drinking of the powder scraped from the sepulchre were cured.*

When thus the fame of the holy martyr was spreading far and wide, and it became known to all how great his merit and influence was in the sight of God, a huge crowd of sick folk began to frequent the glorious sepulchre of the holy martyr William. One after another they came, and as some went away others followed them, for the

[1] Wighton, S. of Wells, about four miles on the road to Walsingham.

successus ad spem bonam subsequentes inuitabant. Verum sub tanta uenientium frequentia tum febricitantes, tum dissenterie morbo languidos, tum uariis uexatos infirmitatibus, abraso sepulcri lapide et cum aqua benedicta bibito, quamplurimos curatos agnouimus preter illos etiam quorum in precedentibus curam meminimus.

xxxii. *De quodam ab inflatura gutturis curato.*

DVM circa sepulcrum suum gloriosus martir tam crebris choruscaret miraculis non uniuersa explanare potuimus, tum quia pleraque nostram contigit noticiam subterfugere, tum quia de nonnullis plenam ueri certitudinem non preualuimus indagare. Porro ea presenti placuit interserere libello que nos uisu siue auditu pro certo cognouimus, queque relatu non indigna deuotis cordibus non displicere scimus. Itaque Norwici puer quidam Alurici filius de sartrino monachorum graui quadam et horribili gutturis et faucium egrotauerat inflatura; adeo quidem ut miserabilem intuentibus offerret aspectum. Cumque morbi qualitas spem salutis prorsus excluderet, ductu matris ad sepulcrum

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frequent successes of those who had gone before invited others to a good hope. But among all this throng of people, some of them with fevers, some with the dysentery, some afflicted with various sorts of infirmities, we know that a great many were cured, besides those whose cure we have already mentioned, by merely drinking the scrapings of the stone of the sepulchre and mixing it with holy water [1].

xxxii. *Concerning one who was cured of a swelling in the throat.*

While the glorious martyr was becoming so illustrious by the frequent miracles that were wrought around his sepulchre, we have not been able to set them all forth, partly because many of them did not come under our notice, partly because, with regard to others, we were not able to arrive at any certainty about the facts. Those, however, we resolved to insert in the present book which we were fully assured of, either by what we saw or what we heard, and these we know will not offend devout hearts, since they are worth recording.

So it was with a certain boy at Norwich, son of Aluric, belonging to the tailor's shop of the monastery, who was afflicted with a severe and horrible swelling of the throat and jaws, so that he presented a shocking appearance to all beholders. And since the character of his disease altogether excluded the hope of a cure, he came to the glorious

[1] Cf. Gregory of Tours, *De uirtutibus S. Martini*, i. 28, 37, ii. 1.

uenit gloriosi martiris. Quem nos considerantes egritudini tam acerbe compassi sumus, rasumque de sepulcri lapide puluerem ei cum aqua benedicta bibendum dedimus. Sacro uero potu paulatim descendente in uiscera, diuine uirtus gratie successit festina. Continuo etenim ad potus susceptionem eger et doloris lenimen sensit, et in breui a tumore conualuit, nullamque prorsus inflature notam in se alicubi reseruauit.

NVNC itaque, aliquanta iam miraculorum explicita partiuncula, interim dicendi finem facimus, dum defessus cursu equus uel modice quietis interpositione uires resumat, uiribusque resumptis crastini itineris alacrius aggrediatur laborem.

Explicit liber tertius.

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martyr's sepulchre led there by his mother, and we seeing him in his dreadful malady had compassion upon him, and we gave him to drink of the dust scraped from the slab of the sepulchre mixed in holy water. But as the sacred draught gradually descended into his bowels, the power of the divine grace followed close upon it. For immediately on taking the draught the sick lad felt a lessening of his pain, and in a short time he got well of his tumour, and no mark whatever of the swelling remained in him anywhere.

Now then, after setting forth some small particulars of the miracles, we make an end of speaking until the steed, wearied by the course, gathers strength by a short interval of rest, and so may betake himself the more cheerfully to the labour of to-morrow's journey.

HERE ENDETH THE THIRD BOOK.

LIBER QVARTVS.

Incipiunt capitula libri quarti.

i. De induratione prioris Helye atque eius morte.
ii. De filio cuiusdam Gurwanni curato et de ceco illuminato.
iii. De Radulfo monetario Norwicensi ab egritudine curato, et de monetariorum ministro furibundo et sanato.
iv. De Agnete Reginaldi uaccarii uxore a sanguinis fluxu liberata.
v. De quadam Botilda a pedum grauissimo dolore liberata.
vi. De filia fabri de Poswic quod egra ueniens sana redierit.
vii. Qualiter sepulcrum suum mundissime attrectari sanctus martir per uisum monuerit atque custodiri.
viii. Quo miraculo tapetum sullatum recuperauerit.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

i. Of the hardening of the heart of Elias the Prior, and of his death.
ii. Of the cure of the son of one Gurwannus and of a blind man restored to sight.
iii. Of Ralph the moneyer of Norwich who was cured of an illness: and of a servant of the moneyers who was mad and was healed.
iv. Of Agnes the wife of Reginald the cowherd cured of a bloody flux.
v. Of one Botilda who was rid of a severe pain in the feet.
vi. Of the daughter of the smith of Postwick; how she came sick and went away whole.
vii. How the holy martyr by a vision warned us that his tomb must be touched and guarded with all purity.
viii. How he miraculously recovered the carpet that had been removed.

ix. De reuelatione sanctorum dentium et de curatione Willelmi sacriste: ac de morte eiusdem post uoti infractionem.

x. Quomodo mari periclitantibus martir subuenerit.

xi. De quadam a languore diuturno curata et de alia que uisum amissum recuperauit, (xii) et de presbitero cum familia curato et de uxore Ricardi de Bedingeham, (xiii) et de puellula insana et pluribus aliis per merita sancti martiris curatis.

Incipit liber quartus.

MVLTIPLICATIS diebus multiplicabantur et miracula et crebrescente uirtutum gratia, egregii martiris Willelmi nomen latius iam atque longinquius protendebatur. Qua de re non mirari non possumus prudentissimi uiri prioris scilicet Helÿe animum adeo induratum ut nullatenus ab eo possit extorqueri ut tapeti uelut supra docuimus tam uiliter sancto Willelmo sublati dedecus congruo corrigeretur honore. Atque id nequaquam omnino silere possumus, et ipsum scilicet per uisum aliquotiens correptum, et per nonnullas aliorum uisiones de reddendo tapeto sepissime

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ix. Of the revelation of his holy teeth and the cure of William the sacrist; and how he died after breaking his vow.

x. How the martyr succoured those in peril on the sea.

xi. Of a certain woman healed of a long sickness, and of another who recovered her lost eyesight, and of a priest who was healed with his family, and of the wife of Richard of Bedingham, and of a little girl who was mad, and of many others healed by the merits of the holy martyr.

HERE BEGINNETH THE FOURTH BOOK.

i. As the days went on, miracles went on also, and as the grace of his mighty works became more frequent, the name of the excellent martyr William began to spread far and wide. So that I am constrained to wonder that the heart of one most sagacious man, I mean Elias the Prior, was so hardened, that by no means could he be induced to expiate by a suitable honour the insult inflicted upon Saint William by the base removal of his carpet which I have already related. And I cannot but mention that he was several times rebuked in visions himself, and very frequently warned by visions vouchsafed to others,

commonitum, nec tamen (h)is eius duriciem contigit emolliri, ut scilicet debitus sacro martiri honos contingat restitui. Vnde aliquorum super hoc estimationem sollicitari non admiror qui suis fortasse cordibus dicant martirem quidem Willelmum illatam sibi indurati prioris iniuriam non immerito per ire sue punisse uindictam. Sic enim a multis traditur, et martirem super hoc illi fuisse comminatum, atque illius illico consecutum interitum. Quisquis autem super eo sic et sic autumet seu qualiscumque causa[m] diuinam ad id inclinauerit dispositionem, hoc tamen nos pro certo tenemus quoniam senii eius dies finis anticipauerit immaturus. O reuera laudabilem uirum cuius uite sobrietas et morum modestia tocius religionis erant speculum: qui tam diuina quam liberali pollens scientia sapientissima prudentie sue prouidentia Norwicensem illustrabat ecclesiam. O itaque uirum planctu multo plangendum cuius utique uita uite nostre subsidium fuerit pernecessarium, et mors immatura luctuosum nobis incussit detrimentum. Obiit autem undecimo kal. Nouembris, cuius veneranda uenerabilis uite merita et mortem eius in conspectu domini preciosam fecerunt et nos super eius salute non reliquerunt incredulos.

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to return the carpet: yet it did not happen that his heart was softened nor the due honour restored to the holy martyr: hence I cannot be surprised that the thoughts of some are disturbed on this account, for perhaps they may say in their hearts that the martyr William punished —and justly punished—by the vengeance of his wrath the insult offered to him by the hardened Prior. For it is said by many that the martyr threatened him, and that his death followed thereupon. But whoever makes these assertions about him, or whatever cause led the divine ordaining to this, we hold it to be certain that the days of his age were shortened by an untimely end. Ah! how worthy of all praise he was! the sobriety of his life and the modesty of his character were a mirror of all religion. He was skilled alike in the divine and in the liberal sciences; and his wise and provident foresight was an ornament to the Church of Norwich. And so I say, "Ah! how ought we to bewail him: whose life was so necessary to our life, and whose early death inflicted so mournful a loss upon us." He died on the 22nd of October[1], and his reverend life and merits made his death right dear in the sight of the Lord, and left us a sure hope of his salvation.

[1] His death took place in 1149.

ii. *De filio cuiusdam Gurwanni curato atque ceco quodam illuminato.*

EISDEM ferme diebus mulier quedam Lundoniensis ter a beato Willelmo per uisum premonita quam opus sibi ab ipso iniunctum exequi uoluisset, tandem ut ei iussum fuerat Norwicum uenire curauit. Gurwannum pelliparium quesiuit, inuenit, et inuento ait: Que ante hanc diem nunquam Norwicum nouerim ecce Norwicum a Lundoniis tibi Gurwanne et uxori tue missa pro nuncio adueni. Mandat utique per me uobis gloriosus dei martir Willelmus, quod quia quinque filios morte intercipiente amisistis, uobis super tanto nimirum incommodo dolentibus, et ipse pietatis affluens uisceribus plurimum compatitur. Vt igitur sexto qui uobis uix superfuit et per XVIII ebdomadas iam egrotauit gaudeatis, idem beatissimus ad sepulcrum suum uos inuitat martir, ac pro salute pueri candelam afferre et sibi offerre admonet. Preterea precipit quatinus quotannis puer quoad uiuet in die natiuitatis sancte Marie debitum sibi capitis uectigal exsoluat. Hoc itaque nuntio exhilarati Gurwannus et uxor eius mox mandatum exequi accelerant et de festina filii incolumitate exultant. Sed neque silentio pretereundum est quod eodem Gurwanno referente didici, quod maxime scilicet famis et mortalitatis diebus cum aliis in

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ii. *Of the son of one Gurwan who was healed and a blind man who received his sight.*

At about the same time a woman of London received three warnings in a vision from blessed William before she would carry out what he enjoined: at last as she was bid she came to Norwich, inquired for Gurwan the tanner, found him and said: "I never knew Norwich before this day, and here have I come from London to Norwich on an errand to you, Gurwan, and to your wife. The glorious martyr of God, William, bids me tell you that, whereas you have lost five sons by death and are grieved of course at this heavy affliction, he in his compassion sympathises with you. Now, in order that you may rejoice over your sixth son who survives and has been ill for eighteen weeks, the blessed martyr calls you to his tomb, thither to bring a candle and offer it to him for the cure of the boy. Moreover, he commands that every year, as long as the boy shall live, he shall pay a tribute due to the martyr for his life on the day of the Nativity of the Virgin." Gurwan and his wife were overjoyed at the message, hastened to carry out the order, and were rejoiced by the speedy restoration of their son.

This too I must mention, which I learnt from the mouth of Gurwan, that in the days of a great famine and pestilence he had in

domo sua pauperibus cecum quendam ipse habuerat. Is a beato Willelmo sub recenti adhuc martyrii eius tempore per uisum admonitus est quatinus tres de spiritu sancto missas cantare faceret et sub tercia proculdubio uisum recuperaret. Quod ubi ceco insinuante i[s]dem cognouit Gurwannus euocato presbitero tribus diebus tres cantare missas fecit; in quibus ad honorem sancte trinitatis tres denarios cecus optulit atque sub tercia oblatione (mirum dictu) sicut ei promissum fuerat uisum recuperauit.

iii. *De Radulfo monetario Norwicensi sua curato egritudine et ministro eius furioso sanato.*

SVB idem tempus Radulfus monetarius Norwicensis grauissima grauabatur egritudine. Is multorum inuitatus exemplis uotum beato Willelmo uouit, soluit, ac statim conualuit. Cui cum plenam recuperasset sospitatem per uisum gloriosus dei martir apparuit dicens: Ego sum Willelmus puer qui te dei nutu curaui: mihi gratias age et deuotus existe. Id quoque tibi iniungo quatinus Thomam monachum custodem et secretarium meum conuenias ac dicas ut confortetur nec deficiat; studiosus et diligens in seruitio meo perseueret, quoniam gratum habeo obsequium quod mihi sua

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his house, along with other poor persons, a blind man. He was warned in a dream by St William during the time soon after his martyrdom to have three masses of the Holy Ghost sung, and that at the third he should without doubt recover his sight. And when Gurwan had learned this from the blind man, he called a priest and had three masses sung on three days; at which the blind man offered three pence in honour of the Holy Trinity, and at the third offering, wonderful to say, according to the promise he recovered his sight.

iii. *Of Ralph the moneyer of Norwich who was healed of an illness, and his mad servant who was cured.*

About the same time Ralph the moneyer of Norwich was oppressed with a very severe disease. Attracted by the examples of many, he vowed a vow to St William, paid it, and recovered forthwith. When his recovery was complete, the glorious martyr appeared to him in a vision saying: "I am the boy William, who at God's bidding cured you; thank me, and remain devout. This, too, I bid you: visit Thomas my warden and secretary and tell him to be comforted and not to faint,—to continue diligent in my service: for I hold the obedience dear which his devotion shows to me." This message, received in a vision

deuotio exhibet. Que per uisum mandata et ab eodem Radulfo mihi intimata ego Thomas summa obseruare studui diligentia. Contigit quoque per idem tempus dum monetarii Norwicenses operi suo insisterent, subito sub oculis eorum unus de ministris demonio arreptus adeo male se habuit ut ipsum fortibus mox astringi uinculis oporteret. Qua de re alii sani capitis pro salute socii preces et uota sancto martiri fuderunt, atque confestim ad uotum nulla interposita mora iuuenis liberatus est.

iv. *De Agnete Reginaldi uaccari uxore a sanguinis profluuio liberata.*

VENIT et die quadam Agnes uxor Reginaldi qui Norwici uaccarius cognominabatur ad sancti Willelmi sepulcrum egritudini sue grauissime ac diuturne petitura remedium. Hec annis quinque fluxu menstruo laborauerat atque in medicis nichil sibi uel parum proficientibus non modicam expenderat pecuniam. Veniens ergo cum multa deuotione et mentis amaritudine in oratione diutius stetit opemque quam postulauit absque dilatione efficaciter optinere promeruit. Mox enim ubi post oblationem candele genibus flexis sepulcro labia impressit, puncto temporis

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and communicated to me by the said Ralph, I, Thomas, took care to obey with all watchfulness.

It happened also at the same time, while the moneyers of Norwich were engaged in their work, that suddenly before their very eyes one of the workmen was seized by a devil, and was in such evil plight that he had to be bound with strong irons. The rest who were in their right minds poured out prayers and cries to the holy martyr on behalf of their fellow, and thereupon without any delay the youth was freed from his ailment.

iv. *Of Agnes, wife to Reginald the cowherd, who was freed from a bloody flux.*

There came also one day to the sepulchre of St William Agnes, wife of Reginald who was known at Norwich as the Cowherd, to seek relief from a sickness of hers which was oppressive and of long standing. She had suffered from an issue of blood five years, and had spent no small sum on physicians, who did her no good or very little. She therefore, coming with great devotion and in bitterness of soul, stood long in prayer, and was accounted worthy to obtain without delay the help she sought. For as soon as she had offered a candle and on bended knee touched the tomb with her lips, at that instant she found

fluxus molestiam secreta quadam dei uirtute stagnari comperit: et exinde regrediens sancti Willelmi meritis manifestam dei uirtutem se sensisse predicauit.

v. *De quadam Botilda languente et curata.*

EGROTAVERAT et quedam Botilda Norwici uxor Toche pistoris atque per multum tempus tanto pedum tenebatur dolore ut humi nullatenus ualeret gressum defigere. Vnde quia domo egredi et sancti martiris sepulcrum pro uoto adire non poterat, pro uxore dominus ire festinat. Itaque ueniens ille ac diutius in oratione persistens uxoris salutem deuotis poposcit precibus: atque post oblationem candele se exauditum non diffidens domum regreditur. Quo adueniens sanam et incolumem uxorem reperit ipsamque sanitatis eius horam esse cognouit qua candelam sancti martiris sepulcro superposuit.

vi. *De filia fabri de Poswic languente curata.*

ERAT quoque in uilla que Postwic dicitur faber filiam habens male se habentem grauissimoque per multos dies languentem incommodo. Hec multorum relatu de tantis salutiferi martiris

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that by the secret working of God her plague was stayed: and returning thence she proclaimed that by the merits of St William she had experienced the manifest power of God.

v. *Of one Botilda who was sick and was healed.*

One Botilda, wife of Toche the baker at Norwich, had also been ill, and was oppressed for long with such severe pains in the feet that she could not put her foot to the ground. So, as she was unable to leave her home and come to the tomb of the holy martyr to fulfil her vow, her husband hasted to come in place of his wife. He came and continued long in prayer; he asked devoutly for the recovery of his wife, offered a candle, and returned home, not doubting that his prayer was heard. When he got there, he found his wife safe and sound, and on inquiring the hour of her recovery he ascertained that it had taken place when he put the candle on the tomb of the holy martyr.

vi. *Of the sick daughter of the smith at Postwick, who was healed.*

There was also in the village called Postwick[1] a smith who had a daughter in evil case, long oppressed by severe illness. She, by the relation of many, heard the report of the great deeds of the lifegiving

[1] Postwick, a village four miles from Norwich.

uirtutibus famam audiens fidei tacta instinctu quomodo potuit ad sanctum sancti Willelmi sepulcrum properauit. Quo perueniens et candelam dextera tenens tota mentis orauit deuotione, lacrimosisque precibus egritudini sue postulauit remedium. Oratione denique facta genibus flexis candelam optulit ac puncto temporis quo lapidi oscula impressit pristine sanitati subito se restitutam comperit.

vii. *Quod sepulcrum suum mundissime attrectari sanctus per uisum monuerit et custodiri.*

DIEBVS illis cuidam bono et reuera credibili uiro gloriosus puer et martir Willelmus apparuit et ait: Nuncius esto meus et crastina dominica ad sepulcrum meum uade, atque ibi assistentibus predica ut solito maior mihi exhibeatur reuerentia. Nonnulli etenim sepulcri mei lapidem siue pallium lutuosis pedibus tangere immo et maculare non uerentur, atque inhonestis plurimorum sputis circa me pauimentum sordescit. Thome autem meo denunciare cura quatinus sepulcrum meum accuratius obseruet, et aduenientibus qua reuerentie modestia mihi assistere debeant denuntiet. Hec ubi a uiro mihi denuntiata sunt ea summa

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martyr: faith prompted her, and she came as well as she could to the holy tomb of St William. She reached it, and holding a candle in her right hand, she prayed with single-minded devotion, and with tears and prayers begged to be relieved from her disease. After her prayer she knelt and offered the candle, and at the instant of her kissing the stone, found that she had been restored to her former health.

vii. *How the saint in a vision bade that his tomb should be kept clean and carefully guarded.*

In those days the glorious boy and martyr William appeared to a certain good man, truly worthy of belief, and said: "Be thou my messenger, and on the next Sunday go to my sepulchre, and there proclaim to those present that more reverence must be shown to me than heretofore. For some presume to touch the stone of my sepulchre, or the cloth, with muddy feet, nay, even to soil it; and the pavement round me is defiled with the foul spittle of many. Be careful, then, to warn my Thomas that he take greater care of my tomb, and signify to those who come with what reverence and modesty they are to stand before me." When the man gave me this message, I took care to obey

obseruare diligentia studui, et exinde in eius obsequio multo deuotior permansi.

viii. *Quo miraculo tapetum sublatum recuperauerit.*

OPERE precium est deuotioni propalare fidelium unde incitata sui semper accipiat incrementum. Dum etenim pia sanctorum gesta sepius audiendo percipit, inde deuotionis nostre igniculus quasi quodam pietatis afflatu magis accenditur et magis amando ignescit. Igitur diebus illis contigit Willelmum uicecomitem tunc Norwicensem maxima commotum iracundia in quendam Eduardum et Robertum fratres grauiter inuehi. Qua ductus ira, dum eos comprehendere disponeret quoniam fuga sibi salutem parauerant, nequaquam comprehendit, bona uero eorum que inuenit uiolenter dirripuit. Dum autem moraretur Robertus in domo Ricardi decani de Bedingeham timoris causa noctibus in ecclesia sancti Andree iacebat. Et dum nocte quadam ibidem quiesceret et membra sopori dedisset, pius puer et martir Willelmus ei per uisum apparuit et ait: Misereor tui Roberte quoniam et in amissione rerum graui afficeris contumelia et terrore compulsus

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it with the utmost diligence, and thenceforward continued much more devout in his service.

viii. *How wonderfully he recovered the carpet that had been removed.*

It is worth while to publish for the devotion of the faithful matters which will tend to stimulate and increase it. For while it absorbs by frequent hearing the pious deeds of the saints, the spark of our devotion is thereby as it were fanned by the breath of piety and inflamed the more as we love them better.

It happened, then, in those days, that William, the then sheriff of Norwich, was stirred with great wrath and was taking hostile measures against a certain Edward and his brother Robert. In his wrath he was designing to arrest them, but they fled: so that, unable to arrest them, he violently spoiled all the property belonging to them that he could find. Robert, who was staying in the house of Richard, Dean of Bedingham, used for fear of the sheriff to sleep at night in the Church of St Andrew[1]. While he was sleeping there one night, having resigned his limbs to slumber, the pious boy and martyr William appeared to him in a vision and said: "I have pity on you, Robert, both because you have suffered grievous wrong in the loss of your goods, and because

[1] Bedingham is ten miles from Norwich, on the road to Bungay. It had formerly two Churches in the same Churchyard, one of St Mary, the other of St Andrew. The former has long disappeared: the tower of St Andrew's, in which probably Robert took refuge, is still standing. Blomefield, x. 103.

exul domo peregrinaris aliena. Duos igitur tibi fac sub nomine meo fieri cereos eosque per manum Godwini presbiteri quem cognominant Stert mihi transmittere non differas, in cuius rei recompensationem infra natalitios Christi dies te dominumque tuum concordes fore repromitto. Monachis quoque Norwicensibus supplica ut pro te exorent. Quibus et hoc ex mea parte quasi pro intersignis mandare magnopere studeas quatinus tapetum michi pridem sublatum ac sepissime requisitum nec redditum quamtotius mihi restituant. Verum si et adhuc in hoc neglectus fuero, procul dubio nouerint quod aliquis eorum in proximo grauiter luat. Sotularis quoque meus non quo disposuerant loco sed quoniam non adeo decens est interim alibi reponatur. Quibus uisis expergefactus mane Robertus gaudio gauisus magno negotium hospiti decano intimauit, cereos fieri curauit, factos misit, monachisque de mandato ac minis subiungens, denominatis tandem diebus iuxta beati martiris uerbum promissi efficatiam percepit. Quo minaci percitus nuntio prior Ricardus qui priori Helye primus successerat, continuo in ecclesiam pro tapeto cucurrit sullatumque ac propriis delatum humeris memorato sancti martiris sepulcro superposuit.

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you are sojourning in a strange house, and are exiled and in fear. Command, therefore, that two wax candles be made for you in my name by the hand of the priest Godwin whom they call Stert[1]; and delay not to send them to me. In recompense for this I promise that you and your lord shall be at one within the days of Christmas. Moreover, beg the monks of Norwich to intercede for you: and as a sign, remember to tell them this from me, that they are to restore me the carpet which was taken away from me some time back, and, though often asked for, has never been returned. But and if I be still neglected in this matter, let them know of a surety that some one of them shall doubtless pay dearly for it shortly. My shoe, furthermore, let that in the meanwhile be put, not in the place which they had designed for it, for that is not seemly enough, but somewhere else." After this vision Robert awoke in the morning and rejoiced greatly: and told the matter to his host the Dean. He had the candles made; when they were made he sent them; and added the message and the warning to the monks. He finally received the effect of the promise, according to the blessed martyr's word, within the time named.

Prior Richard[2], the immediate successor of Prior Elias, struck by the threatening message, forthwith ran to the Church for the carpet, took it, placed it on his own shoulders, and laid it on the often-men-

[1] Called Sturt on p. 38. [2] He succeeded in Oct. 1149 and died 16 Oct. 1158.

Sicque quod alii imprudentius gesserant hoc pie deuotionis obsequio correxit. Super eo autem quod de sotulari dictum est plurimum admiror quoniam et adhuc reuera ignorabatur, siue quis illum tunc habuerit, siue quo reponi debuerit. Ego quippe Thomas puncto temporis absens fueram, qui cunctis inscientibus priuata sub custodia sotularem habebam. Qui dum Norwicum remearem, suscepto a domina Mabilia Beccensi ad idipsum scrinio ipsum in ipso sotularem aliasque quasdam ipsius martiris reliquias priuatim reponi disposueram. Cum igitur domi uenissem et de sotulari que mandata fuerant percepissem uehementer nimirum admiratus, reliquas quas dixi reliquias scrinio immisi, memoratum uero sotularem quo ante fuerat loco reposui.

ix. *De reuelatione sanctorum dentium et de cura Willelmi sacriste et morte eiusdem post uotifrangium.*

PER idem tempus Willelmum Norwicensis ecclesie sacristam quem superiori libello diutino prelibauimus grauatum incommodo contigit ingrauescente morbi sui molestia passionis quam circa inferiora maxime patiebatur plus solito grauari pena. Cuius dolori pius martir Willelmus compatiens primum cuidam Osberto quem de Monte Pessulano dicebant, secundo et alteri cuius nomen

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tioned tomb of the holy martyr; and thus by his pious and devout service set right the imprudent act of others.

Now concerning what was said about the shoe, I greatly marvel; for really up to that time no one had known either who possessed it or where it ought to be put. I Thomas, who had the shoe in my private keeping without the knowledge of any, was at that moment away. And when I was returning to Norwich, I received from Lady Mabel of Bec a shrine for that very purpose, in which I had arranged privately to put the shoe and certain other relics of the martyr. When, therefore, I had returned home, and heard the message about the shoe, being of course much astonished, I put the other relics of which I have spoken into the shrine, but replaced the shoe where it had been before.

ix. *Of the revealing of the holy teeth and the cure of William the sacrist, and his death after breaking his vow.*

At this time it happened that William the sacrist of Norwich, whom I mentioned in the last book as suffering from a disease of long standing, as his sickness now increased upon him, felt more pain than usual. The merciful martyr William in compassion for his suffering appeared in a vision of the night, first to Osbert (called of Montpellier) and next to a second person whose name I have forgotten, and said:

memoria excidit in uisu noctis apparuit dicens: Ite ac sacriste Willelmo cuius passioni ualde compatior ex mea parte dicite quatinus secretarium meum Thomam super salute sua conueniat. Is enim si dentes meos quos adhuc priuata possidet custodia aqua benedicta lauerit eamque illi bibendam dederit infra paucos ille dies plenum procul dubio salutis remedium recuperabit. Eum tamen antea mihi uouere uolo se nullam ulterius alteram preter huiusmodi meam suscepturum medicinam. Quod si per incurie negligentiam uotifrangium incurrerit, confestim ipse sibi consulat, quoniam ratum habeo, quod diem postea quartum nullatenus excedat. Hec igitur uisionis nocturne mandata ubi per prescriptos uiros ad sacriste noticiam perferuntur, me protinus euocato, que per uisum reuelata eique denuntiata fuerant mihi intimauit et subiunxit: Ecce, frater, salus mea penes te est. Festina ergo, noli tempus redimere, noli spem meam more pena mulctare. His ego auditis plurimum admiratus non modicum expaui. Nimirum quippe timebam quod si dentes quos cunctis adhuc nescientibus habueram constaret me habere, constaret fortassis et amittere. Ea propter illos primo negare cepi, quoniam illis nullatenus carere uolui. Cum uero mihi diutius neganti eger et qui ei assistebant

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"Go and tell the sacrist William (on whose sufferings I have great compassion) from me that he is to consult my secretary Thomas about his recovery. For if Thomas will wash my teeth, which he has in his private keeping, with holy water, and give it to William to drink, he will without doubt recover his full health within a few days. But I wish him first to vow to me that he will never henceforth take any medicine except this of mine. If through carelessness and neglect he incur the sin of vow-breaking, let him quickly look to himself; for I am determined that he shall not by any means survive the fourth day after."

When these commands of the nightly vision were communicated to the sacrist by the men I have mentioned, he called for me at once, and set forth the revelations and warnings he had had, adding: "See, brother, my recovery is in your hands. Hasten then: do not prolong the time: do not wound my hope by the punishment of delay." When I heard this, I was greatly astonished, and not a little alarmed: for I naturally feared that if it became known that I was in possession of the teeth, which I had hitherto kept without anyone's knowledge, it might also happen that I should be deprived of them. So I began by denying their existence, for I could not bear to lose them. But when, though I continued my denials, the sick man and those present pressed me

acrius ac pertinatius insisterent quod primo tantum negaueram tandem confessus sum et assensum prebui. Quid multa? Dentes attuli, aqua benedicta laui, eamque egro porrexi. Qui tenens calicem uotum quod ei mandatum fuerat uouit, quod erat in calice exhausit, ac de die in diem paulatim conualuit. Quo conualescente contigit me proficisci et aliquandiu extra morari. Presertim sacrista grauiter interim forte constipatus dum nature uenter non responderet, graues uentris sustinebat tortiones. Dumque nimis ut ei uidebatur morarer magisque ac magis uentris dolor ingrauesceret, crebro illi a medicis suggerebatur ut sibi scilicet consuleret, ac medicine remedium attemptaret. Ipse uero uoto quo astringebatur metuens illis nequaquam adquiescere uoluit, sed rem totam in meum distulit reditum. Verum cum diutius iam tardarem nimiumque passionis uis inualesceret medicis persuadentibus tandem heu consensit, et fallacis medicine asylo se contulit. Quo facto consequenti die domum regressus cum rem gestam cognouissem uehementissime condolui eumque super uoti transgressione redargui. Cuius transgressionis reatum tum mora mea tum passionis sue dum excusaret molestia, nunc increpando nunc quasi consulendo subintuli: Numquid, karissime, te uoto astrictum

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eagerly and persistently, I ended by confessing what I had at first so stoutly denied, and I consented. What more? I brought the teeth, washed them in holy water, and gave it to the sick man. He, holding the cup in his hands, vowed the prescribed vow, and drank the cup's contents. Then, from day to day, he gradually got better. During his convalescence it happened that I went away, and stayed away for some little time. Meanwhile the sacrist happened to suffer considerably in the stomach. My absence, according to his view, lasted too long: his pains increased, and the doctors kept advising him to take measures for his safety, and try some medicine. He, however, was afraid, because of the vow which bound him, and could not take their advice, preferring to put off the matter till my return. But the longer I delayed, the more violent became his pains, and I grieve to say that he yielded to the advice of the doctors, and sought refuge in the deceits of medicine. Whereupon, on the following day I returned, and on hearing of the event, I was bitterly grieved and rebuked him for his disobedience. He excused his guilt on the ground of my delay, and of the troublesome nature of his disease. I rejoined, partly in rebuke, and partly as an adviser: "Had you forgotten, dear brother, that you were bound by a vow? Had those dreadful threats in case of your

oblitus fueras? Nunquid terribiles ille si uotum infringeres mine memoria iam excesserant? Iam tu tibi consule, quoniam tibi plurimum timeo. Nempe quoniam dies crastina suscepte medicine tibi tercia erit, quartum suspectam habeo, et ne illa defraudemur pertimesco. Dumque huiusmodi prosequerer commonitorium, ille monita ut mihi uidebatur paruipendens nec multum timuit nec omnino securus fuit. Quid plura? Iam diem terciam sol occidens terminauerat, et ille surgens a cena lectoque se reclinans quasi quieti se contulit. Quies uero illa heheu non dormitionis erat sed mortis. Cum etenim eum excitare uellemus, iam emortuum inuenimus. Ex his perpendat diligens lector quanta obseruantie diligentia obseruanda sint precepta sanctorum qui quanto maioris potentie ac dignitatis dinoscuntur tanto amplius cauendum est ne offendantur. Quorum reuera iussionem si negligi contingat per incuriam, et raro tantum negligentie reatum non puniri contingit per penam. Qua nimirum preceptorem plane irritari constat, cuius preceptio eis maxime contemptui est a quibus maxime obseruari debuerat. Plurimis quoque astruimur exemplis quod pari scilicet talione plecti meruit qui uotum quod uouerat non obseruauit.

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breaking that vow already slipped your memory? Look to yourself, for I fear gravely for you. To-morrow will be the third day since you took the medicine: I have the worst misgivings about the fourth, and am sadly afraid that we may lose you thereon." Whilst I pursued this line of admonition, he made light, as I thought, of my warnings and was neither much frightened nor yet completely at his ease. What more? Sunset had ended the third day: he had risen from supper and lain down on his bed and seemed to have resigned himself to rest. Alas! that was a rest not of sleep but of death: for when we would have awaked him, we found him already quite dead.

Hence let the careful reader consider how strictly and punctiliously the commands of the saints ought to be obeyed, for the more mighty and worshipful they are, the more caution is needed lest they be offended. If it happens that their orders are neglected through carelessness, it rarely happens that such neglect is not visited with punishment. It is plain that he who gives the order must be angered if those who ought the most accurately to have obeyed it are the first to hold that order in contempt. And we are led by numerous instances to conclude that he who did not keep the vow that he had vowed, deserved to be punished by such a retribution as I have related.

x. *Quomodo mari periclitantibus martir subuenerit matrem ac filium per fontis inuentionem curauerit.*

NEQVE hoc silendum iudico quod quedam scilicet Botilda quam et in secundo libro meritis beati martiris per ramum filicis a pressura partus mire liberatam demonstrauimus nobis retulit, quam magna uidelicet dignationis sue magnalia circa se beatus martir Willelmus terris et mari operari uoluerit. Reuertebatur nempe ipsa de sancto Iacobo sanctoque Egidio, et mare illud Normannicum ut in Angliam ueniret nauigio cum sodalibus peregrinis transibat. Contigit uero eam naui obdormire cum iam ad maris medium peruentum esset, uidebaturque ei sanctus assistere Willelmus dicens: Ecce pro uestibulo temporis grauissima uobis imminet procella; et nisi iam pro uobis interuenissem iam profecto nauis cum uniuersis periclitaretur. Vnde, cum necessitatis superuenerit hora, me aduocatum et intercessorem uobis in Christi nomine inuocate et procul dubio tanta cum solis splendore subsequetur tranquillitas ac si nulla precesserit tempestas. Denique circa uesperam prospero cursu litus Anglicum tanto maiori tenebitis

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x. *How the martyr succoured those in peril on the sea, and cured a mother and son by the finding of a spring.*

I cannot refrain, further, from telling what was related to me by a certain Botilda, of whom I shewed in the second book how she was wonderfully delivered from the straits of childbirth by means of a branch of fern by the merits of the blessed martyr. She told me how great wonders the blessed martyr William had deigned to work in her behalf both on land and sea. She was returning from the shrines of St James and of St Giles, and was crossing the Norman sea in a ship with her fellow-pilgrims to return to England. It happened that she was sleeping in the ship when they were now half-way across, and Saint William appeared to stand by her and say, "Behold, immediately a severe storm is coming upon you, and, had I not already interceded for you, this ship and all on board would have been in extreme danger. So, when the hour of peril comes, call on me as your advocate and intercessor, in the name of Christ, and without doubt there shall ensue a calm and sunshine such as if there had been no storm at all: and by the evening you shall gain the shore of England with a fair breeze, and your joy shall be the greater in proportion as you have seen that the

leticia quanto grandiori uos ereptos uideritis de angustia. Tu autem, Botilda, cum Norwicum adueneris, cum filio quem ab ortu et meo mancipasti patrocinio, quem et egrotantem offendes, adueniens ad meum in silua Torpensi locum heremiticum uenire non differas. Accedentes uero ad arborem ubi quondam a iudeis proiectus aliquandiu sub diuo iacui circa radices eius modicum cauate et inuentam ibi aquam haurientes bibite. Qua bibita et tu ab eo quo laboras incommodo, filiusque pariter liberabitur a suo. Porro uniuersis predicare studeas quod ad illius aque gustum certum cunctis fideliter gustantibus proueniet remedium. Nunc autem quam totius expergiscere, quoniam tempestatis iam superuenit hora, et mandatorum ne sis oblita. Expergefacta terrore mulier cernit toto mari atre quasi noctis tenebras subito supereffundi, celumque diemque oculis uniuersorum subtrahi. Cumque omnia iam iam presentem intentarent mortem, misera nauis imminenti exposita naufragio nunc fluctibus elata quasi in celum euehitur, nunc depressa tanquam in abyssum deicitur. Omnibus itaque desperatis fit clamor miserabilis et ululatus. Presertim qui sanius sapiebant diuine miscericordie postulabant opem. Prefata igitur mulier uniuersa cernens in arcto posita prorupit in medium et uoce clara exclamauit: Vtquid tanta desperatio? Deum sanctumque Wil-

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peril whence you were saved was great. For you, Botilda, when you reach Norwich, take your son, whom from his birth you dedicated to my care and whom you will find ill—and delay not to come with him to my hermitage in Thorpe wood. Approach the tree where I was once thrown by the Jews and lay long in the open air: dig a little near its roots, and drink the water which you will find there. On this, you will be rid of the discomfort from which you suffer, and your son of his disease. Moreover, you must take care to proclaim, that by tasting of that water all that taste in faith shall find relief. Now wake as quickly as you may, for the time of the storm is upon you; and forget not my commands." The woman woke and saw with terror darkness like that of the night suddenly veiling all the sea, and the sky and daylight being withdrawn from the eyes of all. All appearances threatened instant death: the wretched ship in danger of immediate wreck was now lifted up as high as heaven and now cast down again to the deep. All were in despair, and piteous cries and yells were heard. Those who were of soundest mind implored the aid of God's mercy. The woman of whom I am telling saw that they were in an evil strait: she ran into the midst and cried aloud: "Why this despair? Call all of

lelmum martirem Norwicensem deuoto corde communiter inuocate, et salutem festinam promitto. Ad hanc uocem herentibus cunctis, omnium corda mira unanimitate ad dictum mulieris inclinantur. Cumque ab uniuersis ita clamaretur, continuo sol arrisit clare radians et reddita sine dilatione tranquillitas mox in tantum mare pacauit ac si nichil omnino tempestatis precesserit. Excurso autem modici temporis spacio, cursu prospero nauis Anglie littoribus appulit, et exeuntibus cum gaudio cunctis, unusquisque in uiam suam abiit. Memorata uero mulier tandem Norwicum uenit, filiumque uelut ei predictum fuerat egrotantem inuenit. Quo secum assumpto cum teste presbitero in siluam festinauit, arborem prescriptam suffodit, et aquam mox scaturientem repperit. Ad cuius gustum continuo mater cum filio conualuit, atque in omnibus uisionis sue uerissima adinuenit presagia. Postmodum quoque per eiusdem aque gustum plurimos cognouimus optatum percepisse remedium. Super hoc autem plurimum admirari possumus, quod scilicet in arido et arenoso loco aque fonticulus apparuerit; quoniam, nisi diuine omnipotentie id nutu fieret, nullatenus aque uena loco tali prorupisset. Adeo enim aridus locus ille exhabundat sabulo, quod si plenum aqua dolium inibi effunderes, post hore spacium

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you devoutly upon God and Saint William the martyr of Norwich, and I promise you instant deliverance." All were arrested by the words, and their hearts were turned with a wonderful agreement to the woman's bidding. The cry went up from all, and at that moment the sun shone out clearly and a calm, returning without delay, so smoothed the seas, as if no storm had preceded it. In a short time the ship reached the English shore with a fair breeze, all disembarked with joy and went their several ways.

The woman of whom I speak eventually reached Norwich and found her son ill, as she had been warned. She took him with her, and hastened to the wood, with a priest as witness; she dug under the tree as bidden, and soon found water bubbling up. On tasting it, mother and son alike recovered, and so found the predictions of the vision true at all points. In after days we have known many instances of persons tasting the same water and obtaining the relief they needed.

Now in this we have great cause for wonder, that in a dry and sandy place a spring of water should have appeared, for, had not this happened at the bidding of God's omnipotence, no spring could possibly have burst forth in such a place: for the soil of the spot is so dry and sandy that, were you to pour out a pitcher of water there, you would in

nec minimum inde uestigium inuenires. Sed quid mirum, qui de rupe potuit durissima sicientibus olim populis aquarum fluenta producere, si uoluit et nunc in sabulo aque fonticulum egrotantibus aperire? Quippe quantum ad diuinam omnipotentiam, nichil admirabile, sed nos homines admirari solemus si quid nouum quandoque uel insolitum contingere cernamus.

xi. *De quadam a languore diuturna curata et de altera que uisum amissum recuperauit.*

CVMQVE inter mira tot miraculorum gesta maxima circumquaque laudum crebrescerent preconia, confluebant ad beati martiris Willelmi sepulchrum singulis diebus plurimi. Aliqui sanitatis percipiende gratia, nonnulli orationis siue deuotionis causa. Inter quos quedam mulier Norwicensis, Ada nomine, que iam annuo egrotauerat languore, hinc uiri sui, Siwate nomine uocati, et inde alterius cuiusdam sustentata brachiis adducitur. Et factum est, oratione post oblationem peracta, que aliene opis indigua tristis aduenerat, celesti iam curata medicamine propriisque confisa uiribus gaudens regreditur.

Rauenilda quoque uxor Willelmi de Hastedune, que langue-

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an hour's time find no trace whatever of moisture. Yet we cannot wonder that He who aforetime *brought forth rivers of waters out of the hard rock* for a thirsty people, willed in these days also to open a fount of water in the sand for the sick. For, as regards God's omnipotence, nothing is wonderful: it is we men who are apt to be surprised if we are witnesses to any new or unwonted event.

xi. *Of a woman cured of a longstanding sickness, and of another who recovered her lost eyesight.*

While amid so many wondrous miracles the declaring of praise increased and grew all round, many persons began to assemble every day at the tomb of the blessed martyr William; some to be healed and others to pray and offer their devotions. Among them a woman of Norwich called Ada who had been ill for a whole year, came supported on one side by her husband Siwate, and on the other by some one else. And it came to pass when she had ended her prayer and made her offering, that she who had come in sadness and had to be helped by others, was healed by the heavenly medicine, and returned in joy trusting in her own strength.

Also, Ravenilda wife of William of Hastedune[1], who had gradually

[1] Perhaps Hascedune, i.e. Hasketon, near Woodbridge in Suffolk.

scentibus diu oculis uisum paulatim amiserat, alieno ueniens ducatu ad sepulchrum sancti Willelmi plene lumen se recepisse exultat. Sicque factum est ut que illuc uenerat cæca lumine recepto inde recesserit leta.

xii. *De quodam presbitero et eius familia ac muliere quadam curata.*

EODEM tempore Galterus presbiter de Tifteshale atque de familia eius plurimi graui periclitantes egritudine, mox ut sancti Willelmi suffragia postulantes uota uouerunt, uelut eiusdem presbiteri relatu didicimus, sanitati pristine restituti sunt. Sed et uxor Ricardi de Bedingeham, de quo et supra meminimus, graui uentris ac renium grauata incommodo, beati Willelmi meritis medicine celestis curari meruit antidoto.

xiii. *De puella insana sanata et pluribus aliis.*

VIDIMVS quoque hisdem diebus puellulam Eustachii monetarii filiam ad sepulcrum sancti martiris insanam adduci et post hore spatium sanam regredi. Alios preterea quam plures male

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lost her sight through the long weakening of her eyes, came to the tomb of Saint William, led by another, and rejoiced at the full recovery of her sight; and so it came about that having come blind, she went away glad, having received her sight.

xii. *Of a certain priest and his family, and a certain woman, healed.*

At the same time, Walter, priest of Tivetshall[1], and many of his family were endangered by grave illness and immediately upon asking the prayers of Saint William and vowing vows to him, as we have learned from the relation of the said priest, were restored to their former health.

Also the wife of Richard of Bedingeham[2], whom I have also mentioned, being afflicted with severe disease of the stomach and reins, was accounted worthy to be healed by the antidote of heavenly medicine through the merits of the blessed William.

xiii. *Of a mad girl cured, and many others.*

We saw also in those days a girl, daughter to Eustace the moneyer[3], brought to the holy martyr's tomb mad, and returning in a hour's time sane. Many others also in evil case and diseased we saw come thither,

[1] A village about 12 miles S. of Norwich.
[2] See p. 172. [3] See p. 154.

habentes et morbidos illo uenire conspeximus, quos ibidem sanitatis percepisse remedia eorundem postea relatu cognouimus. Quorum nomina uel rei geste seriem uitande prolixitatis gratia presenti libello non inserui, quoniam nimia constat prolixitate legentium deuotionem sepissime ledi.

Explicit liber quartus.

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and heard from them afterwards that they had there received the relief of healing. Their names and the details of the matter I have not inserted into this book, in order to avoid tediousness; for an excessive length plainly tends to mar the devotion of the reader.

HERE ENDETH THE FOURTH BOOK.

LIBER QVINTVS.

Incipiunt capitula libri quinti.

i. De translatione eius a capitulo in ecclesiam.
ii. Quod eo translato nocte consequenti sacrista mira audierit.
iii. De iuuene qui colubros uiuos euomuit.
iv. De quibusdam per merita sancti Willelmi a febribus curatis.
v. Quod Godwinum presbiterum quasi iocando correxit et ab iniusto questu reuocauerit.
vi. De languente per sepulcri tactum curato.
vii. De anulo aureo per uisum nocturnum requisito.
viii. De ydropico mira uelocitate curato.
ix. De quodam decano Lincolniensis prouincie sanato.
x. De quodam Girardo a compedibus mire liberato.
xi. De psalterio perdito ac meritis sancti Willelmi recuperato.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

i. Of his translation from the Chapter-house into the Church.
ii. How on the night after his translation, the sacrist heard wonderful things.
iii. Of the youth who brought up live vipers.
iv. Of some who by the merits of Saint William were cured of fevers.
v. How he corrected the priest Godwin as it were playfully and restrained him from an unjust gain.
vi. Of a sick person cured by touching the tomb.
vii. Of a gold ring recovered by a vision of the night.
viii. Of a dropsical man cured with wonderful quickness.
ix. Of a dean of the province of Lincoln who was healed.
x. Of one Girardus wonderfully freed from his fetters.
xi. Of the psalter which was lost and recovered by the merits of Saint William.

xii. De demoniaco curato.
xiii. De altero furibundo sanato.
xiv. De contracta muliere sanata.
xv. [I]tem de altera contracta.
xvi. De puella contracta et muta.
xvii. De altera ceca et muta. De puero mire curato.
xviii. De clerico male habente sanato.
xix. De monacho ab oculi tumore et dolore per uisum liberato.
xx. De matre sancti Willelmi, quod per uisum nocturnum ab ipso et illius infirmitas et mors prenuntiata fuerint.
xxi. De matrona a dolore et tumore genuum diuturno curata.
xxii. De altera a surditie liberata.

Incipit liber quintus.

i. *De translatione eius a capitulo in ecclesiam.*

IAM non solum de circumiacentibus uillis, sed et de remotioribus tanta cotidie multitudo ad sepulcrum beati Willelmi in capitulo adhuc iacentis cepit confluere, quod conuentus monachorum in

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xii. Of a demoniac cured.
xiii. Of a second madman cured.
xiv. Of a bent woman healed.
xv. Also of a second bent woman.
xvi. Of a girl who was bent and dumb.
xvii. Of a second, blind and dumb: of a boy wonderfully cured.
xviii. Of a sick clerk healed.
xix. Of a monk relieved through a vision of a swelling of the eye and of pain.
xx. Of the mother of Saint William; how her illness and death were foretold by him in a vision of the night.
xxi. Of a matron relieved of pain and of a longstanding swelling of the knees.
xxii. Of a second relieved of deafness.

HERE BEGINNETH THE FIFTH BOOK.

i. *Of his translation from the Chapter-house into the Church.*

Already not only from the neighbouring villages, but from those at a distance so great a crowd began to assemble daily at the tomb of Saint William, who still lay in the Chapter-house, that the brotherhood

claustro sedentium cotidianam tante multitudinis frequentiam nequaquam potuerit diutius sustinere. Dum etenim coram eis uirorum cotidie ac mulierum multitudo turmatim transiret qualiter illorum quies non inquietari poterat? Vnde et communi deliberationis actum est consilio, ut gloriosus dei martir in ecclesia transferendus ibi cum sepulcro suo reponeretur, ubi populis confluentibus liberior ad eum fieret accessus. Quid plura? Prouidetur prope principalius altare a parte australi locus, et exequendi negotii dies oportunus. Volens autem pontifex ut perpaucorum noticiam illa transiret translatio, mihi ac sacriste tunc Giulfo precepit quatinus, necessariis congrue antea prouisis, ita res gereretur ut summo diluculo paucis consummaretur adhibitis. Erat utique dies illa mensis Iulii dies secunda, cuius meridiano tempore quiescentibus dormitorio fratribus et quid negotii interim gereretur ignorantibus, ego et memoratus Giulfus sepulcro accessimus, reuolutoque lapide superposito, ipsum sub eiusdem tenoris statu inuenimus quo eum ibidem et antea composueramus. Sullatum itaque illum secreto in ecclesia usque in crastinum contulimus loco, atque in capitulum regressi sepulcrum itidem reparauimus ac si nulla ibi transmutatio gesta fuisset.

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of monks who abode in the cloister could no longer put up with the daily pressure of so great a multitude. For how could their peace help being disturbed when every day a large number of men and women passed before them? It was therefore decided in common council that the glorious martyr of God should be translated into the Church, and there laid, along with his sepulchre, where freer access to him could be provided for the crowds of people. What more? A place was prepared near the high altar, on the south side, and a convenient day appointed for the business. The Bishop, being anxious that the translation should come under the notice only of a very few, bade me and the then sacrist Giulfus to prepare the necessary instruments beforehand, and so to manage the matter that it should be got over at dawn in presence of a few witnesses. The day was the second of July: and on it at noon, when the brethren were resting in the dormitory, ignorant of what was going on, I and Giulfus whom I mentioned came to the tomb and rolled away the stone that was on it and found the saint in the condition in which we had laid him there before. We took him up accordingly, and placed him in a secret spot in the Church until the morrow; then returning to the Chapter-house we put the tomb to rights as if no change had been effected.

ii. *Quod Martire translato sacrista nocte consequenti in capitulo mira audierit.*

SVBSEQVENTI uero nocte quiddam contigisse cognouimus, quod deuotioni legentium ita insinuandum decreui, ut multiplici super hoc coniecture locum derelinquam. Contigit enim circa noctis illius medium sacristam memoratum in ecclesia de more iacentem ad excitandos ut moris erat sub matutinorum tempore in dormitorio fratres exurgere. Qui cum gloriose uirginis Marie matutinos decantando usque ad capitulum processisset, ibi paululum subsedit, ut ibi quod supererat matutinorum expleret atque exinde ad consuetudinarium negotium procederet. Verum ubi more paululum sub angulo capituli sedendo sic effecisset, subito ex aduerso, boreali scilicet extra capitulum latere, uehemens ac terribilis exoriri cepit sonitus. Cuius qualitatem ipsemet nobis rem gestam postmodum referens nequaquam uerbis exprimere potuit. Quo audito, ultra quam dici possit eum horror inuasit: dirriguere come membrorumque adeo uigor emarcuit ut nullatenus siue pedes contrahere siue manus sursum possit eleuare. Ille uero exorsus sonitus magis ac magis succrescens, ab antedicto latere

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ii. *How after the Martyr's translation the sacrist on the following night heard wonderful things in the Chapter-house.*

Now we heard that something happened during the night following, which I have thought right so to indicate to my devout readers as to leave a wide field for conjecture about it. For it came to pass that about midnight the aforesaid sacrist, who was sleeping as usual in the Church, got up in order to rouse the brethren in the dormitory at the hour of matins, as was customary: and having proceeded as far as the Chapter-house, singing the matins of the glorious Virgin Mary, he there sat down for a moment that he might finish the remainder of matins and then go about his accustomed business. But, after he had stayed sitting a little while at the corner of the Chapter-house, suddenly, on the opposite, that is, the northern side, outside the Chapter-house a loud and terrible sound began to arise. He was unable to express the quality of it in words, when he was relating the matter to us afterwards. On hearing it an indescribable horror seized him: his hair stood upright and his limbs so lost their strength that he could neither draw in his feet nor raise his hands. But the sound that had thus begun, grew louder and louder and passed from the aforesaid direction

ad orientalem capituli se transtulit fenestram, et, quasi per ipsam intro subintraret, directo transitu ad sepulchrum quod die hesterna uacuum relinqueramus se contulit. Cumque ibi aliquandiu inexplicabile quoddam murmur fieret, tandem intra sepulchrum se totum congessit, et quasi in longinquum inde gradatim transmearet, audientis aures pedetentim subterfugit. Presertim dum hec ita se haberent, nimio terrore correptus immobilis sedit sacrista, secum quid ageretur negotii multiplici meditatione reuoluens. Venientibus postmodum uero ecclesie famulis claustro lucernas dispositurís, resumpsit animum, surgensque dormitorium subiit, consuetudinarium excitationis executurus officium. Ex cuius rei euentu idem sacrista ab ea nocte in reliquum noctibus capitulo lucernam subesse instituit, et quoad uixit institutum seruauit. Vnde et mos inoleuit, usque in hodiernum diem, noctibus capitulo inesse lucernam.

VERVM crastino noctis illius illuscescente diluculo, surrexit episcopus et quod cum paucis disposuerat exequi non sine multis contigit expleri. Dum etenim dispositum pre manibus haberetur negotium, subito plurimi deuotionis studio irrumpentes undique conuolarunt, interesse magis affectantes presenti martiris

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to the Eastern window of the Chapter-house, appearing to enter thereby and go directly toward the tomb which, on the day before, we had left empty. Here for some time it continued making the strangest murmuring and at last entered wholly into the tomb, and, as if gradually passing away into the distance, insensibly died out of the listener's ears. While this was going on, the sacrist, in extreme fear, sat immovable, rapidly revolving in his mind what could be the matter. When the servants of the Church came after a while to set the lamps in the cloister, he recovered his courage and, rising, went into the dormitory to fulfil his wonted duty of rousing the brethren. In consequence of this event this sacrist thenceforward instituted the plan of having a lamp in the Chapter-house at night, and kept it up so long as he lived. Whence the custom has prevailed up to the present day that there should always be a lamp in the Chapter-house at night.

But when the morrow's dawn after that night began to shine, the Bishop arose, and what he had arranged to effect with a few helpers was in fact carried out in the presence of many. For while the prearranged business was yet in hand, suddenly a number of people with eager devotion burst in from all quarters, being more desirous of being present at the service done to the martyr than with any idea of inter-

obsequio quam rei gerende impedimento. Denique congruo satis pro tempore loco, sed honore tamen non condigno, illud uenerabile martiris corpus reponitur, eiusque sepulchrum ferro ac plumbo consolidatur. Quibus gestis, uisionis prime tunc recordati sumus, qua se et a cimiterio transferri monuerat et capitulo inter pueros se paululum uelle quiescere indixerat, ad ecclesiam postremo transferendus.

iii. *De iuuene qui colubros uiuos euomuit.*

TRANSLATVS itaque in ecclesia beatissimus martir maioribus quam antea pollere cepit miraculis, quantique apud deum esset patentibus declarauit signis. Sub recenti enim translationis huius tempore de uilla que Helhetune dicitur, iuuenis quidam ductu patris ad sancti Willelmi sepulcrum aduenit. Is quondam opilio dum gregibus pascendis intenderet, die quadam campo sub frutectis forte obdormiuit. Dumque aperto sterteret ore, subito in ipsum coluber introiuit, et quasi grata mansione reperta, intra uiscera se contulit. Excitatur nimirum iuuenis ignarus quidem infortunii, motum tamen sentiens presentis mali. Pestifero acerbi-

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rupting the proceedings. Finally that reverend body of the martyr was laid up in a place sufficiently suitable for the time being, yet not with fitting honours; and his tomb was secured with iron and lead. It was after this that we remembered that first vision, in which he had bidden that we should remove him from the cemetery, and had said that he wished to rest for awhile in the Chapter-house amongst the boys, but should later on be translated to the Church.

iii. *Of the young man who brought up live vipers.*

So the most blessed martyr after his translation into the Church began to shine with greater miracles than aforetime, and shewed by manifest signs how great he was in the sight of God. For when his translation was but recently effected, a youth brought by his father, came from the village called Helgheton[1] to St William's tomb. He had been a herdsman and was looking after his flocks one day when he happened to fall asleep in the field under some bushes. As he lay snoring with open mouth, a viper suddenly crept into his mouth, and finding, as it seemed, an agreeable sojourn there, betook itself into his intestines. He awoke, unconscious of his mishap, yet feeling the stirring of the plague within him. His entrails were tormented with the pain of the

[1] In Loddon hundred, about seven miles from Norwich.

tatis dolore turbabantur uiscera, cotidianaque dierum successione magis ac magis illud inquietudinis inualescebat incommodum. Ignorabat siquidem et mirabatur que tam dira pestis esse posset que tanta acerbitate uiscera sua concuteret; sed ex rei modo que gerebatur quid fuerit estimatione conicitur. Pluribus denique sub inquietudine tam molesta euolutis annis, iuuenis sancti Willelmi curandus meritis ad sepulcrum eius uelut prelibatum est, ductu patris aduenit. Cuius pater, oratione facta post oblationem candele, sepulcri lapidem rasit, aqua benedicta distemperauit, eamque male habenti filio bibendam tribuit. Quo facto, confestim cum fide patris operari cepit uirtus martiris. Vbi etenim sacer ille potus in uiscera descendit, furens continuo coluber ita introrsum cepit angustiari seu sacri potus presentiam nullatenus queat perpeti. Inualescente igitur molestia, concitus iuuenis ecclesiam exiit, et ante ualuas ecclesie humi procumbens, maxima cum angustia colubrum duosque deinde colubri fetus euomuit, effusaque sanie multa, humi iacens uelut exanimis aliquamdiu permansit. Qui uero presenti affuere spectaculo, tam horribili nimirum obstupuere monstro. Porro pater dolore nimio tactus exurgit in colubrum, ipsumque pariter cum fetibus tanquam filii peremit peremptores. Quos et tanti miraculi reseruaturus in signum, fisso imposuit

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noxious pest, and, as the days went on, his restlessness increased. He knew not what it could be, and wondered what was so sharply gnawing at his vitals: but it began to be conjectured from his symptoms. He spent several years in this condition of torment, and eventually, as I have said, was brought by his father to St William's tomb to be cured by his merits. His father prayed and offered a candle: then scraped the stone of the tomb, soaked the scrapings in holy water and gave it to his sick son to drink. Thereupon the power of the martyr began at once to work along with the faith of the father. For when the sacred potion had descended into his stomach, the maddened viper began to be so tormented within, as if it could by no means endure the presence of the holy liquid. The pain increased, and the youth rushed at full speed out of the Church, and fell on the ground before the doors. Then with intense pain he brought up the viper and two young ones, and a great deal of matter, and remained for some time lying apparently lifeless on the ground. Those present were naturally affrighted at the horrid portent. The father in his distress arose and attacked the viper, and killed it and its young as the slayers of his son, and put them in a cleft stick, intending to keep them for a sign of this great miracle.

baculo. Denique post unius hore spacium sanus exurgit iuuenis, deoque ac sancto Willelmo liberatori suo gratias agens, domum cum patre gratulabundus regreditur.

iv. *De quibusdam curatis ab estu febrium per sanctum Willelmum.*

CONTIGIT per idem tempus Adam, Iohannis dapiferi episcopi nostri filium, acri et diuturno febrium perurgeri incommodo. Iamque in tantum morbus preualuerat quod pellis exhausta marcido quodam pallore mortis signum intuentium oculis innuebat. Hic igitur, siue suorum monitis, siue proprie deuotionis instinctu, ad sepulchrum beati martȳris ueniens post paululum quieuit et obdormiuit. Exactoque duarum horarum spatio, adeo sanus surrexit et incolumis ac si nichil omnino presensisset doloris. Quidam quoque Roberti.....ariensis miles consimili diebus illis uexatus ualitudine, consimili modo ad idem martiris sepulchrum sospitatem meruit optinere. Alios preterea quamplurimos febrium itidem tȳpo[1] laborantes sancti Willelmi meritis remedium sanitatis ibidem frequenter percepisse percepimus.

After an hour the youth arose whole, and giving thanks to God and St William his preserver, returned homewards in joy with his father.

iv. *Of some persons cured of the heat of fevers by St William.*

At the same time it came about that Adam, son of John the chamberlain of our Bishop, was vexed by a long and severe fever. So far had the disease progressed, that the skin, all bloodless, showed by a kind of wan pallor the sign of death to all who saw him. He then, at the advice of his friends or of his own devout notion came to the martyr's tomb and after a little time fell asleep. In two hours' time he arose as well and whole as if he had never felt pain.

Also a certain soldier of Robert of..... afflicted with a like illness in those days, was able to obtain a like recovery at the same tomb. I have also learned that very many others oppressed with accesses of fever often gained relief and health by the merits of St William.

[1] See Ducange, *s.v.*

v. *Quod presbiterum Godwinum quasi iocando correxerit et iniusto questu reuocauerit.*

TEMPORE illo Godwinus presbiter, cuius in precedentibus sepe mentionem fecimus, et quem ligneum illud martiris tormentum quod uulgo Teseillun dicitur habere premonstrauimus, ipsum aqua intingere solebat benedicta, per cuius haustum multis fertur salutis contulisse remedia. Cuius rei fama permota mulier quedam paupercula diuturno languoris laborans incommodo, qualiter potuit, ad eundem Godwinum percipiende sanitatis gratia uenit, ad quem et ait: Miserere mihi, domine, meoque compatere languori; et qui per merita sancti Willelmi aliis soles subuenire, mihi quoque subuenias misere. Credo equidem meam tuis pre manibus esse salutem. Sicque tui sanctus propicietur Willelmus, quemadmodum et tu mihi propitius fueris. Cui Godwinus; Quid, inquit, beneficii attulisti, que adeo fidutialiter meum postulas obsequium? Ad quem illa: Nouit deus quoniam adeo paupercula sum quod omnino nichil preter quod circa me cernis possideam. Vniuersa profecto que habui in medicos expendi, et nichil profeci. Ad hec Godwinus: Si, ut astruis, adeo pauper es, gallinam saltem perquirere et dare potes. Respondit mulier: Gallinam, domine, de qua loqueris nec

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v. *How he punished the priest Godwin, as it were in jest, and restrained him from making unjust gains.*

At that time the priest Godwin whom I have already often mentioned—of whom, too, I have said that he possessed the wooden instrument used to torture the martyr and commonly called a Teazle[1],—used to dip this instrument in holy water; and by the drinking of this water he is said to have given relief to many. A certain poor woman who was in ill-health was stirred by reports of this, and came as best she could to Godwin to get healed: she said to him, "Have pity on me, sir, and compassionate my sickness; you who succour so many by the merits of St William, succour me also in my misery. I believe that my recovery is in your hands, and so may St William be gracious to you as you shall be gracious to me." Godwin replied: "What offering have you brought, that you demand my help with such confidence?" "God knows," said she, "that I am very poor, and have nothing but what you see on me: all that I had I have spent on doctors and got no good." Thereupon said Godwin: "If you are so poor as you say, you can at any rate get a hen and give it me." "For the hen of which you talk, sir," said the woman, "I have it not, nor know whence I can get it."

[1] See p. 20.

habeo nec ubi perquiram scio. Cui presbiter indignans prouerbialiter respondit: Audi, mulier, *qui non dat quod amat, non suscipit quod desiderat.* Vnde si uis ut precibus tuis obaudiam, uade, perquire, et affer gallinam. Quo mulier audito in fletum prorumpens, cum lacrimis ait: Iudicet deus inter nos, piusque martŷr Willelmus uelut erga me meruisti tibi retribuat. Et his dictis lacrimans abscessit. Et, ut postmodum cognouimus, ab ea die conualuit, et pristinam sanitatem breui recuperauit. Presbiter uero rem paruipendens, dum deprecantis muliercule lacrimas despexit, dei fortassis sanctique Willelmi iram incurrit. Qua de re conicimus praue uoluntatis culpam subsequentis mox infortunii non iniuste subisse uindictam. Factum est enim ut ea nocte uniuerse illius morerentur galline; et ex plurimis nec una superfuit. Atque ita, pro sola quam illicite petiit, multarum non immerito dampnum incurrit. Mane facto, cum infortunii euentum percepisset presbiter, statim compunctus hesterne culpe recognouit reatum, et se grauiter peccasse confessus est. Ea propter terrore compulsus uouit, se ulterius questus huiuscemodi lucra per spiritualia non quesiturum beneficia.

The priest was angry and answered her in a proverb. "Listen, woman: he that gives not what he prizes, gets not what he asks. So, if you wish me to pay attention to your request, go, get a hen, and bring it here." On this the woman burst into tears and said: "God judge betwixt us, and the merciful martyr St William reward you as you have deserved by your treatment of me." And so she went away weeping, and, as I have since ascertained, recovered from that day and shortly regained her former health. The priest thought little of the matter, and despised the tears of the poor woman: for which it is likely that he incurred the wrath of God and St William. Whereon we conjecture that the sin of his ill-will deservedly suffered the punishment of the misfortune that soon followed. For it happened that on that night every one of his fowls died; and of the whole number, which was large, not one remained; so that for the one which he unjustly demanded he deservedly suffered the loss of many. In the morning on hearing of his mishap, the priest was at once repentant, recognised his fault of the previous day, and confessed that he had indeed sinned grievously. Therefore in fear he vowed that he would never thenceforth seek gains of this kind by conferring spiritual benefits.

vi. *De languente per sepulcri tactum curato.*

DIEBVS illis Robertus Heruei quondam pistoris filius, mensium quatuor et eo amplius detentus languore grauissimo, rem gerere credebatur extremam. Inualescente etenim morbo, omnem cibi iam amiserat appetitum, membrisque succo exhaustis ac pulsu nimis debilitato, saluti eius medici diffidebant. Cum itaque rem in arcto esse cerneret, ad diuine misericordie confugit asÿlum. Cuius rei gratia, quoniam totus corpore imbecillis erat, suorum utrinque manibus ad sepulchrum sancti martiris deducitur. Vbi assistens, effusa multe deuotionis oratione, continuo ad sacri lapidis tactum celestis medicine sensit antidotum. Qui enim adueniens uix orationis dominice tantillum ruminare poterat, assumpto post paululum psalterio psalmos inchoat, psalteriumque totum se excurrere posse exultat. Quo peracto, omnipotenti deo sanctoque Willelmo gratias agens, qui aliene opis aduenerat indiguus propriis iam gressibus regreditur confisus. Quique diebus multis nichil omnino cibi gustauerat, appetitu recuperato cibum sumpsit, recreatisque in breui uiribus sospitati plene restitui meruit.

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vi. *Of a sick man cured by touching the tomb.*

In those days Robert son of Herveus, once a baker, was grievously ill for four months and more, and was generally thought to be at death's door. For owing to his disease he had lost all appetite for food, his limbs lost their strength, his pulse was weak, and the doctors feared for his safety. So, seeing himself to be in extremity he sought refuge in GOD's mercy. And as his strength of body was quite gone he was brought to the holy martyr's tomb supported by the hands of his servants. There he stood and prayed much and devoutly, and straightway upon touching the holy stone felt the antidote of the heavenly medicine. He who when he came could barely mutter the Lord's Prayer now took his psalter, began the psalms, and rejoiced that he could run through the whole psalter. When he had ended it, he gave thanks to GOD and St William, and though he had stood in need of other's help in coming, he now returned trusting to his own legs. He had tasted no food for many days, but now, recovering his appetite, he ate, soon refreshed his strength, and was mercifully restored to complete health.

vii. *De anulo aureo per uisum requisito.*

ERAT miles quidam prope Liunam Reginaldus nomine, filius Philippi, cuius uxor miro deuotionis affectu sanctum Willelmum diligebat. Hec cum nocte quadam iuxta sponsum in stratu suo quiesceret, apparuit illi per uisum idem martir quem diligebat Willelmus. Qui affectuose deuotioni eius gratias agens, dulci eam recreauit alloquio. Post cetera anulum aureum reliquis minorem, quoniam plures gerebat, in signum amoris sibi dari requisiuit, eumque usque ad digiti summum cui inerat abstraxit. Qua de re expergefacta mulier expauit, uisaque retractans anulumque digiti summo reperiens, quid ageret hesitauit; uiro tamen uisa subintulit. Eius itaque consilio actum est ut ipsa Norwicum sine dilatione ueniret, et requisitum sancto Willelmo offerret anulum. Post hec uero se totam illi commendans, quem erga illum gereret animum semper postea per deuote exhibitionis indicauit effectum.

viii. *De ÿdropico mira uelocitate curato.*

VIDIMVS et hominem de prouintia trans Humbrum uoti gratia ad gloriosi martiris Willelmi uenire sepulchrum. Is multam

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vii. *Of a gold ring demanded in a vision.*

There was a knight near Lynn called Reginald, son of Philip, whose wife was wonderfully devoted to St William. She was resting one night in bed by her husband, when, in a vision, the martyr William whom she loved appeared to her. He thanked her affectionately for her devotion and refreshed her with kind speeches. After this he asked that a gold ring, smaller than the rest (for she wore several), should be given to him as a sign of her love; and he drew it off as far as the top of the finger on which it was. The lady woke, and was alarmed, and recollecting her dream, and finding the ring on the top of her finger was uncertain what to do, but told the dream to her husband. At his advice she came without delay to Norwich and offered St William the ring he had asked for. And thereafter commending herself wholly to him, she shewed forth the love she bore him by her devout carriage ever after.

viii. *Of a dropsical man cured with wonderful swiftness.*

I also saw a man from the province beyond the Humber come in consequence of a vow to the tomb of the glorious martyr William.

cere massam ad caligarum instar compactam afferens, eam summo deuotionis studio martiris Willelmi superposuit sepulcro. Qui sciscitantibus nobis unde esset, siue cur aduenisset, respondit: Natiuum mihi solum Eboracensis prouintie est regio, atque huc uoto constrictus adueni. Fueram enim quandoque ydropicus, eiusque morbi per annos multos succubui molestie, dirumque ac miserabile intuentibus eram spectaculum. Quanta presertim doloris torquerer angustia uerbis nequaquam exprimere possum. Pius utique martir Willelmus mee compatiens afflictioni per nocturnum mihi mandauit uisum quod si sanus fieri uellem, uniuersum tumorem cera circumdarem, eamque sibi Norwicum afferrem. Mira res ac ualde stupenda! Mox etenim ubi tumentia inferius ab umbiculo membra cera circumdedit, tumor omnis adeo subsidit ut, cum postmodum tolleretur cera, nec modica paruerint tumoris uestigia. Tanto nimirum stupefactus miraculo, tamque ueloci recreatus beneficio, huc ut iussum est uenire non distuli: et hec est cera, cuius uelut predixi officio me contigit sanari. Quo audito, plurimum super his admirantes gauisi sumus deumque in sancto suo Willelmo mirabilem predicamus.

He laid on William's tomb with great devotion a large mass of wax fashioned in the form of boots. When we asked whence he came and wherefore, he replied, "My native country is a district of the province of York, and I have come hither because of a vow. I was at one time dropsical, and subject to the attacks of that disease for many years, and was a hideous and pitiable sight to all who saw me. I cannot express in words the misery and pain I suffered. The merciful martyr William, however, pitying my affliction, directed me in a dream, if I wished to recover, to surround all the swollen part with wax and bring it to him to Norwich. Wonderful occurrence! as soon as the wax had covered my swollen limbs from the middle downwards, the swelling subsided so entirely that on removing the wax not a trace of it was to be seen. Astonished at the miracle, and rejoiced at the swiftness of the cure, I delayed not to come hither as I was bidden; and this is the wax by means of which, as I said, I was cured." On hearing this we marvelled much, and joyfully proclaimed how wonderful God was in William His saint.

ix. *De decano Lincolniensis prouincie curato.*

VENIT et a Lincolniensi prouintia decanus quidam, Robertus nomine, qui denarios quatuor quos sancto Willelmo singulis annis se daturum uouerat, attulit, ac sepulchro eius quasi debitum uectigal superposuit. Hic uero nobis aduentus sui causam inquirentibus subintulit dicens: Nature uitio in diuturnum decidi languorem, atque ex diuturnitate morbi cum ceteris membris etiam caput intumuit. Talisque intuentium uisibus apparebam, tanquam si uite limina iam iam excederem et mortis uestibulum subintrarem. Iamque sub ipso mortis discrimine quasi filum trahebam uite. Compassus itaque tante ac tam acerbe languoris diuturnitati, mihi per uisum sanctissimus martŷr apparuit Willelmus, blandisque me consolatus sermonibus, inter cetera subiunxit: Confortare, frater, quoniam in proximo est ut cureris. Curatus uero, in recompensationis mihi signum quatuor denarios quotannis exsolue. Quibus dictis, caput ac cetera ex ordine membra demulcenti percurrit palma. Demulcentis uero medicabilem illam manum e uestigio subsequebatur sospitatis antidotum. Quo facto, stans ante me ait: Ecce sanus effectus es: preceptum obserua. Mira res, et fere incredibilis! Expergefactus enim me sanum et incolumem repperi, et pie uisionis ueritatem efficaciter sensi.

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ix. *Of a dean of the province of Lincoln who was healed.*

1152

There came also a certain dean named Robert from the province of Lincoln, bringing four pence which he had vowed yearly to pay to St William, and laid them on his tomb as tribute due from him. When we inquired of the cause of his coming, he told us, saying, "From a weakness of constitution I was long in bad health, and in addition to my other limbs, my head swelled. All who saw me thought that I was passing over the threshold of life and entering the gates of death. And being now in extremity my life hung only by a thread. The most holy martyr William, pitying my long and severe illness, appeared to me in a dream, and comforted me with kind words, saying among other things, 'Be of good cheer, brother, your recovery is at hand, and when you are cured, pay me four pence yearly as a recompense.' With these words he passed a soothing hand over my head and the rest of my limbs in order: the remedy of health followed immediately on the healing hand. Whereupon he stood before me and said, 'Lo, you are whole; do my bidding.' Wonderful event! I awoke and found myself whole and sound and felt in very deed the

Surgens ergo iter meum differre nolui, sed ascenso equo huius rei causa huc adueni, indictumque michi capitis tributum exsoluo. His auditis, admirati nimirum et gauisi sumus, ac diuine pietatis beneficia magnificauimus.

x. *De Girardo a conpedibus soluto.*

VIDIMVS et quadragesimali eiusdem anni tempore Girardum quendam qui domini sui fugiens tirannidem ad Norwicensis ecclesie confugit asylum. Hunc miles Willelmus nomine de Witewelle compedibus astrictum, quamquam nepos eius diceretur et esset, arcte deputauerat custodie, quia scilicet uoluntati sue nullatenus uolebat assentire. Deinde tanquam sibi rebellem multo ieiunio et nuditate crudeliter afflixit, seuamque in eum tirannidis sue uiolentiam exercuit. Cumque a die purificationis usque ad sextam feriam ante pascha florum miris miser ille affligeretur modis, nec flecteretur, toruis miles crudelissimus eum intuens oculis ait: Delibera tecum, Girarde, et quam citius prouide tibi. Ecce hodie Norwicum uado, reditum profecto crastinaturus. Has interim habeas deliberandi inducias. Id tamen pro certo teneas, quia ni

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reality of the kind vision. I rose and would not delay my journey, but mounting my horse have come hither for this purpose, and am now paying the tribute imposed upon me for my life." We heard this, and marvelled greatly, and with joy we extolled the benefits of the divine pity.

x. *Of Gerard who was freed from his fetters.*

In Lent of the same year we saw one Gerard who took sanctuary in the Church of Norwich, fleeing from the tyranny of his lord. A knight named William de Witewelle[1] had put him in fetters—though he was reported to be his nephew, and indeed was—and committed him to strict ward, because he would not submit to him. He proceeded to afflict him as insubordinate with long fasting and exposure to cold, and exercised a tyrannous violence against him. And when from Candlemas Day (Feb. 2) to the Friday before Palm Sunday the poor wretch had been tormented in various ways without yielding, that cruel knight, gazing grimly upon him, said, "Take counsel with yourself, Gerard, and look out for yourself quickly. To-day I am going to Norwich, and I mean to return to-morrow. So much time you have for decision: and you may be well assured that

[1] Probably Whitwell, a parish one mile S.W. of Reepham, in Norfolk.

redeunti mihi confestim adquieueris, omni prorsus dilatione remota genere penarum exquisito peribis. Et hec dicens, iussit eum cum altero quodam compedibus pariter constringi, ita tamen ut Girardi pars artificiosa quadam obfirmaretur claui. Clauem uero uxoris theca, thecam quoque obfirmatam archa reposuit, et tanquam hoc non sufficeret, arche clauem secum asportauit. Abiens uero uniuersos domus sue famulos iusserat ea nocte diligentius circa eum excubare, omnia domus hostia solito strictius obserare, scannis quoque et aliis quibuslibet podiis obstruere. Inter hec miser ille Girardus omnia in arcto esse, et uitam periclitari cernens, sibi nimirum omnimodis timebat, et quid ageret prorsus ignorabat. Malebat etenim mori quam iniuste succumbere seruituti. Quapropter animum totum coram diuine pietatis effudit omnipotentia sanctosque dei sibi coadiutores affore petiit, ac precipue sanctissimi et clementissimi martiris Willelmi opem implorauit dicens: Gloriose puer et martir Willelme, si uera sunt que de te audiuimus, et tante uirtutis sis uelut estimamus, succurre mihi misero, succurre iniuste perituro. Libera me, domine, a presenti calamitatis angustia, ut tue uirtutis ope liberatus tibi seruus fiam

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unless you submit to me at once on my return you will without any further respite perish by the most exquisite torture I can devise." With these words, he gave orders that he should be fastened in fetters along with another man, the arrangement being that the part of the fetters occupied by Gerard was locked with an elaborate key. The knight put the key into his wife's reticule, closed that and laid it up in a chest, and as if that were not enough, took the key of the chest away with him. On departing, he ordered all the servants of the house to keep careful watch over Gerard that night, to bar all the doors of the house more carefully than usual, and to barricade them with benches and any other kind of obstacle. Meanwhile the wretched Gerard saw that things had come to a desperate pass, and that his life was at stake: he was in the greatest fear for himself and knew not what to do: he preferred death to submission to an unjust slavery. So he poured out his whole soul before the merciful and mighty God and besought that God's saints would help him: especially did he implore the aid of the most holy and merciful martyr William, saying: "O glorious boy and martyr William, if the things I have heard concerning thee be true, and if thou art of such power as we believe, help my wretched plight, help me who am doomed to die unjustly. Set me free, Lord, from my calamitous strait, that being freed by thy mighty aid I may become

inperpetuum. Qui cum in hunc modum orasset atque eadem die tota multaque noctis parte precordialiter replicasset, tum labore uigilie tum doloris tandem uehementia obdormiuit; sed et custodes uniuersos sompno pariter oppressos dormire contigit. Cum uero iam noctis pertransisset medium, dormienti uidebatur uincto sanctum martirem quem inuocauerat Willelmum sibi assistere, compedesque claui uelut dictum est firmatas reserare, ac sibi dicere: Expergiscere, frater Girarde, et uelociter surgens, tuamque compedum partem tollens, quam totius fuge. Ecce solutus es; festina. Hostium australe iam tibi patet peruium. Expergefactus ad hec homo tremens obstupuit; sed ubi se solutum sensit, resumpto animo de fuga cogitauit. Nec mora, sumpta sua compedum parte, silentio surrexit, rectoque gressu ad indictum hostium sibi et iam patefactum perueniens, continuo prodiit ac veloci fuga salutem sibi parturiuit. Norwicum uero sub diluculi ueniens articulo, patefactis ecclesie ianuis, statim ad sancti Willelmi liberatoris sui properauit sepulchrum, atque memoratam compedum partem illi obtulit in liberationis sue signum. Et tam diu postmodum seruiuit in ecclesia quamdiu permansit in uita.

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thy servant for ever." And when he had thus prayed, and repeated the prayer from his heart many times during all that day and a great part of the night, he at length fell asleep from the weariness of his watch and the sharpness of his pain: and it was so that all his guards were likewise overcome with sleep. And when it was now past midnight, it appeared to him as he slept in his irons that the holy martyr William whom he had invoked stood by him, unlocked the fetters, which as I said were fastened with a key, and said to him, "Awake, brother Gerard, rise quickly, take your part of the fetters, and fly with all speed: you are loosed; make haste: the south door is open for you." The man awoke and trembled with amazement, but finding himself freed, regained his wits and thought of flight. At once he took up his part of the fetters, rose silently and went direct to the door indicated, found it open, went out at once and gained safety by swift flight. Arriving at Norwich at earliest dawn, when the Church doors were opened, he at once hastened to the tomb of his liberator, St William, and offered to him the part of the fetters which I have mentioned as a token of his loosing. And thenceforward so long as he lived, he remained a servant in the Church.

xi. *De psalterio amisso atque recuperato.*

CONTIGIT per idem tempus sancto pasche sabbato me Thomam psalterium amittere, de cuius amissione eo magis dolui quia illud manibus propriis scripsi. Quod cum diutius ac diligentius inquisitum nequaquam inueniretur, in ecclesia tandem publica de eo facta est interrogatio, et excommunicationis postmodum proponitur sententia. Verum ubi inquisitionis nostre labor nullum nobis retulit fructum, post omnia ad unicum patroni mei recurrere disposui patrocinium. Facta itaque candela et ad sepulchrum eius perlata, summa ibi oratum est deuotione, uti psalterium amissum sanctus martŷr diuine uirtutis impulsu reddi cogeret quod omnimode inquisitionis labore recuperari non posset. Et factum est, die crastina uenit quidam Radulfus presbiter sancti Michaelis Norwicensis, atque ea hora cum psalterio memorato ad sancti Willelmi sepulchrum accessit, qua se nemine cerni credidit; relictoque ibi psalterio confestim abscessit. Ego autem e uestibulo temporis orandi gratia illuc adueniens, psalterium subito uidi, et prorumpentibus pre gaudio lacrimis, illud gaudens sustuli. Postmodum uero, rem diligentius indagantes plurimi, cognouimus quia prenominatus presbiter esset qui ad sepulcrum martiris illud

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xi. *Of the Psalter lost and recovered.*

1752

It happened at the same time on the Holy Saturday that I, Thomas, lost a psalter; for which I was the more grieved because I had written it myself: and when after looking for it long and carefully I could by no means find it, public inquiry was at last made for it in the church, and sentence of excommunication thereafter pronounced. But since my pains and search brought no result, I finally arranged to have recourse only to the protection of my patron. I therefore made a candle and took it to his tomb and prayed most devoutly that the holy martyr would compel the return of my lost psalter by the impulse of his divine power, since I had been unable to recover it by all my pains in seeking. And it came to pass on the next day that one Ralph, priest of St Michael's at Norwich, came bringing the said psalter, and approached the tomb of St William at a time when he thought no one would see him, and leaving the psalter went quickly away. But I, coming thither at that moment to pray, suddenly saw the psalter, and with tears of joy bursting forth, took it up. Thereafter many of us investigating the matter with care, ascertained that it was the aforesaid priest who had laid it on the martyr's tomb. He had bought it

deposuisset. Tribus siquidem emerat denariis, sed quia furatum et in ecclesia sepius quesitum audierat, nescio siue rubore ductus, siue retinendi amore corruptus, reddere differebat. Erat quippe liber preciosus et carus, et qui concupisci foret non indignus. Ac, uelut pluribus ex causis conicimus, ipsum necdum reddidisset, nisi ad hoc timore aliquo compulsus esset. Aiunt enim quoniam eius diei nocte quo oblatam sancto martiri prediximus candelam, idem beatissimus martir presbitero illi in sompnis apparuerit, eumque nisi psalterium crastino redderet terribiliter comminatus sit: qua compulsum necessitate, librum credimus reddidisse.

xii. *De demoniaco meritis sancti Willelmi sanato.*

INVIDIE siquidem est signum diuine bonitatis aliis celare beneficium quod pluribus plurimum potest prodesse, si plures contingat et nosse. Pulcrius enim elucescunt bona si plurimorum comprobentur noticia. Vnde silentio non congruit supprimi quod plurimorum noticie ad deuotionis edificationem perutile est propalari. Nouit siquidem beniuolentium pia simplicitas, quoniam auditis non nunquam sanctorum miraculis, ignescere soleat affectus pie

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for three pence, but after hearing that it had been stolen, and often inquired for in the Church, he delayed to return it—whether from shame, or because he was corrupted with the desire of keeping it, I know not. It was indeed a precious and dear book, not unworthy of being coveted. And, as I conjecture for many reasons, he would not even then have returned it, had he not been constrained to do so by fear. For they say that on the night before the day on which, as I said, I offered a candle to the holy martyr, that same most blessed martyr appeared to the priest in a dream and uttered terrible threats against him, unless he returned the psalter on the morrow: and I believe he was constrained by that necessity and gave the book back in consequence.

xii. *Of a demoniac healed by the merits of St William.*

It is truly a sign of jealousy to conceal from others the good deeds of God, which may profit many, if many come to the knowledge thereof: for good deeds shine the brighter if they be proved by the knowledge of many. Hence it is not right to suppress that which it is beneficial to publish before all to edify devotion. The pious simplicity of the well-disposed is aware that by sometimes hearing of the miracles

deuotionis. Sed dum miraculis miracula, magnisque maiora succedunt, ita tamen in scribendo noster temperandus est stilus, ne in legendo multiplicitatis extinguatur fastidio pie deuotionis igniculus. Et dum fideliter prout auditu siue uisu scire potuimus, beati Willelmi martiris miracula deuotioni fidelium enarramus, peccat qui nos astruit non uera pro ueris cudere, uel rem gestam figmentis palliare. Nunc autem simplici mentis oculo diligens lector attendat, quod beatissimus deoque acceptus martyr Willelmus non solum morbis hominum, sed et uersutiis demonum reuera imperiosus existat. Vidimus quippe rusticum quendam Simonis de Hemestuode per dies multos a demonio uexatum, ligatum manus et pedes ad illud medicabile sancti Willelmi sepulchrum sanumque et incolumem sub ipso crastino domum reduci.

xiii. *De altero furioso curato.*

VIDIMVS quoque et alium arrepticium in septimana pentecostes ad sancti Willelmi sepulchrum diuina miseratione curatum. Is quondam filius Ricardi de Nedham, cuius et mater Siluerun dicebatur, subito quadam die a demonio correptus, adeo

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of saints the affection of the devout is kindled. But as one miracle follows another and the great are succeeded by greater, my pen must be so curbed in writing, that the spark of devotion be not quenched by the fatigue of reading too many wonders: and since I relate the miracles of blessed William the martyr faithfully as I have been able to learn them by sight or hearing, for the devout believer, he who would accuse me of stamping falsities as truths, or of dressing up facts with fiction is guilty of sin. Now, however, let the careful reader note with the single eye of his mind how the most blessed martyr William, acceptable with God, not only controls the diseases of men, but also the wiles of devils. I have in truth seen a certain peasant, belonging to Simon de Hempstead[1], for many days vexed by a devil and brought bound hand and foot to the healing tomb of St William, and taken home on the morrow sane and whole.

xiii. *Of the cure of a second madman.*

I also saw another possessed man healed at St William's tomb by the divine pity in Whitsun week. He was the son of Richard de Needham, and his mother was named Silverun; and one day he was seized by a devil and began to handle himself so roughly that seven

[1] There are two villages of this name in Norfolk, one near North Walsham, the other near Holt.

acriter se cepit habere ut uix eum septem uiri uinculis possent constringere. Constrictus uero diebus sex ita permansit, nichilque commedens, fugiente sompno nec ad modicum dormire potuit. Qui cum sic ligatus a parentibus tandem ad sepe memoratum adduceretur sepulchrum, illi appropians horribili confestim uoce exclamauit et ait: Quod me uultis? Quo me ducitis? Illuc nequaquam ibo; illuc nequaquam ibo! Cumque illuc uiolentius traheretur, non suo sed maligni spiritus annisu rupit uincula, insurgensque in matrem ipsam humi proiecit, dentibusque per guttur arripuit. Iamque illam morti dedisset, nisi plebs accurrens ereptam liberasset. Tum ille dentibus stridens, toruisque luminibus circumstantes intuens, quos contingere potuit, miserabiliter discerpsit. Qua de re confluentibus plurimis, crudeliter arripitur, alligatur, constrictisque ad pedes manibus, uelit nolit, ab latere sancti sepulcri deponitur. Mox ut sacrum locum attigit, mirum dictu, nec uoce nec uultu uel minimum furoris signum demonstrauit. Pertransito uero hore unius spacio, blande atque humiliter ut solueretur expetens, a quodam ecclesie famulo solutus est, atque postmodum adeo placide ac mansuete se habuit ac si nichil antea furoris habuisset. Presertim post modicum correptus

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men were hardly able to chain him. He remained in this state, bound, for six days, eating nothing, and sleep entirely forsook him. Thus bound he was at last brought by his parents to the oft-mentioned tomb; and as he approached it he suddenly yelled with a terrible voice and said, "What do you want with me? where are you taking me to? I won't go there! I won't go there!" But as he was being dragged thither with some violence he burst his bonds, not by his strength but by that of the evil spirit, and attacking his mother, threw her to the ground and fastened his teeth in her throat. And he would certainly have killed her, had not the people run up and rescued her. Then, gnashing his teeth, and glaring fiercely on the bystanders, he maltreated frightfully all whom he could reach. A crowd assembled; he was savagely seized and bound, and with his hands and feet tied together, was put down willy-nilly beside the holy tomb. As soon as he touched the sacred spot, wonderful to say, neither by voice nor look did he show the least token of madness. After an hour had passed he gently and meekly asked to be loosed, and was unbound by one of the servants of the Church. Thereafter he behaved himself as quietly and tamely as if he had suffered no touch of madness. In a short time sleep came

sompno, qui pluribus, ut dixi, diebus omnino non dormierat, aliquamdiu quieuit. Expergefactus uero, qui multis diebus sine cibo permanserat, se tunc multa esurie affligi dicebat. Allato igitur cibo commedit et bibit, et cum parentibus et amicis sanus et incolumis summa cum alacritate recessit.

xiv. *De contracta muliere scabellaria sanata.*

EADEM pentecostes septimana, sabbato ante festum sancte trinitatis, uenit muliercula ad sepulcrum sancti martiris, que a primeua etate in uilla sancti Eadmundi per multos contracta manserat annos. Hec manualibus gradiens scabellis, prout potuit, per uisum a sancto Willelmo ammonita Norwicum aduenit. Et accedens, quantum sibi pre turba licuit, ad memoratum sepulcrum, ut per sancti Willelmi martiris merita sue misereretur imbecillitati diuine pietatis exorauit clementiam. Vix orationem terminauerat, cum subito correpta dolore acerbe angustiatur, neruisque crepitu magno distensis et ipsa distenditur. Cumque aliquamdiu graui subcubuisset angustie, sedato tandem dolore quieuit, atque post unius hore spacium sana in conspectu nostro surgens incolu-

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upon him, and he who for many days had not slept at all, as I said, now rested for some little space. On waking, though he had remained many days without food, he now said that he was exceedingly hungry. Food was brought, he ate and drank, and returned home with his parents and friends, sane and whole, in the greatest joy.

xiv. *Of a bent woman who walked with trestles and was healed.*

In the same week of Whitsuntide, on the Saturday before the feast of Holy Trinity, a poor woman came to the holy martyr's tomb, who had from infancy dwelt many years in St Edmund's Bury, bent double. She, walking with trestles which she held in her hands, made the best of her way to Norwich, having been told to do so by St William in a dream: and coming as near as she could for the press to the said tomb, she supplicated the divine pity to have mercy on her weakness, for the merits of St William the martyr. Scarce had she ended her prayer when she was seized with a sudden and acute pain, her sinews were stretched with a loud cracking, and herself stretched to her full length. After succumbing for a space to the severe pain, it ceased, and she rested, and after an hour rose whole and sound in our sight,

mis, deo sanctoque martiri suo Willelmo pro reddita sibi sospitate gratias egit.

xv. *De altera toto corpore imbecilli curata.*

ERAT eo tempore mulier in uilla que Florendune dicitur: et ea dolore partus atque angustia contractis membrorum neruis tantam corporis incurrit imbecillitatem, ut multis postea diebus neque se ipsam manibus pascere neque pedibus posset ambulare. Hec quamplurimis sub hac ualitudine diebus transactis per manus uiri sui et quorundam aliorum equo imposita ad sancti Willelmi sepulcrum aduehitur. Deposita uero prope sepulcrum, et illa pro se et pro illa sui preces ac uota fuderunt. Facta denique trium horarum ibi mora, sancti martiris sui meritis diuina pietas mulieris imbecillitati subuenit, uirtusque salutifera inuisibiliter per imbecilles artus membratim discurrens, uisibili salutis effectu patuit. Recreatis igitur diuina uirtute membris, uiscerumque dolore exinanito iam sibi confidens mulier surrexit, deoque ac sancto Willelmo pro sibi collato salutis remedio gratias et laudes exegit. Et factum est, que tristis et aliene opis aduenerat indigua, leta cum suis regreditur gressibus propriis confisa.

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and gave thanks to God and his holy martyr William for her recovery to health.

xv. *Of a second woman who was entirely without strength, and was healed.*

There was at that time a woman in the village called Flordon[1], who in consequence of the pains of travail had fallen into such a weakness of her whole body—for her sinews were all contracted,—that for many days after she could not feed herself with her hands nor walk on her feet. After remaining a long time in this plight she was set on a horse by her husband and others and brought to St William's tomb. She was set down near the tomb and there her friends prayed for her: she remained there for three hours, and then the pity of God, by the merits of his holy martyr, came to help this woman's weakness; the healing power running unseen through her limbs was manifested by the visible effect of healing. Her limbs were refreshed with the divine power, the pain in her vitals ceased, and she was able of herself to rise and give thanks and praise to God and St William for the relief they had accorded to her. And so, she who had come sad and in need of others' help, went away in joy trusting to her own feet.

[1] A village about ten miles from Norwich.

xvi. *De puella contracta et muta ac sanata.*

EODEM anno feria quinta ante pascha, que a christianis dies absolutionis dicitur, dum pontifex Willelmus missarum celebraret sollennia, uenit mulier ad sepulcrum sancti Willelmi filiam gestans septennem contractam ac mutam. Hanc mater in conspectu plurimorum iuxta sepulcrum deposuit. Factaque cum lacrimis oratione, assidente ibidem tunc Godiua uxore Sibaldi filii Brunstani et ipsa consedit. Cumque aliquantam ibi fecisset moram, forte sompno depressa obdormiuit. Allato interim ad sepulcrum ouo, que numquam antea uel cedere siue loqui poterat, cernente memorata Godiua puella surrexit, ouumque accipiens, ad matrem se conuertit, et materna lingua ait: Vide mater, ouum habeo. Ad cuius sonum excitata mater, cernens filiam loquentem et gradientem, pre gaudio nimirum prorupit in lacrimas. Iamque confidens filie, quanta diuina sibi pietas meritis sancti Willelmi beneficia contulerit, astantibus publice predicauit. Nobis uero accurrentibus et rei geste diligentius inquirentibus negotium, a prefata Godiua et ab aliis quampluribus profecto audiuimus, et se mulierem reuera cognoscere, et uirginem illam contractam ac mutam se sepius uidisse.

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xvi. *Of a girl who was bent and dumb and was healed.*

On Maundy Thursday of the same year, which Christians call the day of absolution, while Bishop William was solemnizing the mass, there came a woman to the tomb of St William, with a daughter of seven years old, bent double and dumb. The mother put her down by the tomb in the sight of many, and after praying with tears she sat down beside Godiva the wife of Sibald, son of Brunstan, who was also seated there. After some little time, it happened that she fell asleep. Then, an egg happening to be brought to the tomb, the girl, who had never yet been able to speak or walk, arose in the sight of the said Godiva, took the egg, turned to her mother, and said in English: "Look, mother! I've got an egg!" At the sound the mother awoke, and seeing her daughter speaking and walking, burst into tears of joy; and being now assured of her daughter, proclaimed publicly to those present how great benefits the pity of God had conferred on her by the merits of St William. I ran up and inquired diligently into the facts, and was at once informed by Godiva and many others that they truly knew the woman, and had often seen the deformed and dumb girl.

xvii. *Item de altera ceca surda et muta a natiuitate.*

DIEBVS postmodum non multis intercurrentibus, paupercula mulier quedam de Grimestune per uisum ab ipso sancto Willelmo admonita est, ut si filiam quam ab ortu cecam et mutam habebat sanari uellet, eam ad se Norwicum afferret. His illa inuitata promissis, cum filia uenire non distulit, allatamque ad caput deponens sepulcri, clara uoce ait: Gloriose dei martir Willelme, ecce ut iussisti filiam attuli, fac ei, domine, sicut promisisti. Et hec dicens fleuit, ac diuinam pro salute filie supplicauit misericordiam. Factum uero est, tanquam materne pietatis lacrime celos attingerent, ut deuota precum instantia tandem uirgini salutem optineret. Confestim namque cum pietate matris cooperari cepit uirtus martiris. Quid plura? Ex improuiso albugine que uirginis oculos tanquam oui membrana obduxerat dissoluta, sanguis subito ex oculis prorupit, atque in pauimentum eminus prosiliit. Qua nimirum pre doloris angustia clamante, plorante, et genas uellente, nos plures accurrimus, quod negotii gereretur cognituri. Et quanquam rei euentum prout narrauit mater didicissemus, certius tamen ueritatem scire uolentes accensam summitati uirgule candelam imposuimus. Qua pre oculis eius

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xvii. *Also of another, blind, deaf and dumb from her birth.*

After the lapse of not many days, a poor woman of Grimeston[1] was warned in a dream by St William himself that if she wished for the cure of her daughter, who had been born blind and dumb, she was to bring her to him at Norwich. Invited by this promise, she did not delay to come with her daughter, and putting her down at the head of the tomb, said aloud: "O glorious martyr of God William, behold, as thou didst bid me, I have brought my daughter; do unto her, Lord, as thou didst promise": and with these words, she wept. It seemed as if the tears of the mother's piety reached the heavens, and the devout fervency of her prayer obtained healing at last for the maid: for the might of the martyr at once began to work with the piety of the mother. What more? At once the film, which had covered the maid's eyes like the skin of an egg, parted, and blood spurted from the eyes and fell at a distance on the pavement. She cried out with the pain and tore her cheeks; and many of us ran up to see what was the matter. And although we learned the facts from the mother, yet, being anxious to know the truth more certainly, we took a lighted candle and put it on the end of a rod and held it before the girl's eyes, moving it to and fro.

[1] A large village seven miles from Lynn.

apposita, atque huc et illuc diducta, uirgo lumen intuens ac uelut rem admirans sibi reuera ignotam quacumque deflecteretur oculis candelam sequebatur. Auferentes denique candelam, exhibuimus et pomum. Quod apprehensum cum admiraretur, Anglica lingua mater ait: Comede, filia, comede pomum. Ad hec dum eundem puellula sermonem retexeret, se matri respondisse credidit. Necdum aliud loqui nouerat, nisi quod ab alio audiebat. Vnde conicimus non illam tantum cecam et mutam, immo fuisse et surdam. Tanto itaque certificati miraculo, diuine gratie gratias laudum exsoluimus atque ab ea die in reliquum pia erga sanctum Willelmum deuotio incredulorum radicauit in cordibus.

xviii. *De puero quodam mire curato.*

TEMPORE illo puer filius Willelmi Polcehart maxima depressus ualitudine, iam nec cibum sumebat nec aliquod, inualescente magis ac magis morbo, uel minime quietis solatium ad horam habere poterat. Consultis igitur super salute pueri medicis nec aliquid ei proficientibus, desperati parentes sancti Willelmi tandem se contulerunt suffragiis. Qua de re uotum fecerunt, ut scilicet, si puer meritis eius sanaretur, singulis annis optima ab ipso candela in liberationis sue signum illi persolueretur. Facta

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She looked at the light with wonder, as if she had really never seen one before, and followed it with her eyes in whatever direction it was moved. We then put away the candle, and produced an apple. She took it and admired it, and when her mother said in English: "Eat the apple, daughter, eat it!" she repeated the words, under the impression that she had answered her mother, as not yet knowing how to say anything but what she had heard some one else say. So that I conjecture that she had not only been blind and dumb, but deaf as well. Confirmed by so great a miracle we praised and lauded the grace of God, and from that day forward a pious devotion to St William took root in the hearts even of unbelievers.

xviii. *Of the wonderful cure of a boy.*

At that time a boy, the son of William Polcehart[1], was so ill that he could no longer take food, and as his disease progressed, could get no rest or comfort even for an hour. Doctors were consulted, but did no good, and the parents in despair at length betook themselves to the intercession of St William. And they vowed that if by his merits the boy were healed he should offer a fine candle every year in token of

[1] Probably Pouchard or Pulchard. The family had lands in North Creak, and were people of consequence in the days of King Stephen. See Blomefield, vii. 75.

igitur ad longitudinem pueri et latitudinem candela, et ad memorati martyris sepulcrum allata, continuo puer quasi mortis abstractus faucibus, ad subite salutis aduentum respirauit, et in breui contra omnium opinionem conualuit. Parentes uero pueri diligentius ueritatem indagantes facti, ipso temporis puncto eum sanitati cognouerunt restitui, quo candelam eius sancto Willelmo contigit offerri.

xix. *De quodam clerico morti proximo sospitati restituto.*

NEC multo post Adam clericus nepos Edwardi de Gernemuta in maximam decidit corporis ualitudinem. Cuius sanitati desperantibus medicis, salutis sue anchoram diuine fixit solo miscericordie. Inter hec monitis suorum beatum martirem Willelmum animo contrito ac uoce supplici inuocauit, eiusque postulans opem uouit, ut scilicet si presenti sue egritudini conferret remedium seruus eius fieret in eternum. Qua deuotione ductus, iussit ad longitudinis et latitudinis sue mensuram fieri candelam, et Norwicum ad sepulcrum illius deferri. Et factum est, ut sub ipsa hora eger continuo conualesceret, qua qui missus fuerat pro salute eius candelam offerret. Vnde et cum reuerteretur eum

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his deliverance. They therefore made a candle of the length and breadth of the boy and brought it to the tomb of the martyr: the boy was as it were snatched from the jaws of death, and breathed again at the sudden approach of health, and, contrary to the expectation of all, recovered in a short space. The parents, on investigating the truth, discovered that he was restored to health at the precise moment when they offered the candle for him to St William.

xix. *Of a clerk restored to health when at the point of death.*

Not long after, Adam[1], a clerk, nephew of Edward of Yarmouth, fell into very bad health. The doctors gave him up, and he fixed the anchor of his salvation in the firm ground of God's mercy. Urged by his friends, he called on the blessed martyr William with a contrite heart and suppliant voice, and beseeching his help, vowed that if he would relieve his present sickness, he would become his servant for ever. In this spirit of devotion he ordered a candle to be made according to the measure of his height and breadth, and to be taken to Norwich to the tomb. And it came to pass that the sick man got well at the moment when his messenger was offering the candle for his recovery: and when

[1] Probably the same Adam of Yarmouth, who was clerk of the signet in the reign of Henry I., and eventually became one of the Justices Itinerant. See Foss's *Judges* for an account of him.

sanitati restitutum repperit quem abiens sub ipso mortis uestibulo dereliquit.

xx. *De monacho per uisum curato.*

SED neque hoc silendum estimo quod et legentium laborem delectet, et auditorum deuotionem non uulneret. Erat quippe Norwici tunc monachus quidam, simplex quidem et religiosus, qui Petrus Peuerellus uocabatur. Hic erga sanctum martirem Willelmum multe deuotionis semper extiterat, eumque precipuo mentis affectu diligebat. Qui nocte quadam dominici aduentus tempore dum de matutinis regrediens sanus se lecto contulisset et sompno, dormiens intolerabilem subiti doloris incurrit angustiam, aliquo fortassis accidentali infortunio. Oculum enim dextrum uehementissimus dolor inuasit, et inuasoris domini quasi satelles e uestigio tumor successit. Expergefactus pre tanti nimirum doloris angustia monachus, continuo in uocis horrende irrupit clamores, adeo ut nullus circumiacentium ea hora esset, qui pre clamoribus eius quiescere potuisset. Ingrauescente magis uero ac magis dolore, tota facies dextra intumuit, et horribile spectaculum intuentibus dedit. Iamque in tantum per dies aliquot

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the messenger returned he found the man whom he had left at death's door restored to health.

xx. *Of a monk cured by a dream.*

Here again I must not pass over an occurrence which will make the reader's toil delightful, and will not wound the devotion of the hearer. There was at this time at Norwich a monk, a simple and religious man, called Peter Peverell[1]. He had always had a great devotion to the holy martyr William and a special love towards him. One night in the season of the Lord's Advent he had returned from matins quite well, and had betaken himself to bed and sleep: when, in his sleep, he was seized with intolerable pangs, probably in consequence of some accident. For his right eye was invaded by a most violent pain, and a swelling immediately followed, as a servant follows on the heels of his master when he enters. The monk awoke with the excess of pain, and broke into loud and dreadful cries, so that none of those then lying near him could possibly go to sleep. The pain increased and the whole of the right side of his face swelled so as to make him a horrifying spectacle; and so much worse did he continue to get for some days,

[1] See p. ~~118~~. 129

excreuit angustia, quod se mori mallet, quam aliquamdiu sic uiuere. Nempe inter frequentes punctionum aculeos, frequenter sancte Marie sanctique Willelmi nomen replicabat, eosque cur sibi seruo suo non subuenirent causabatur. Cumque diutius sic se habuisset, sedato tandem aliquantulum dolore, nocte succedente quieuit. Cui dormienti uisus est assistere beatus dei martyr Willelmus dicens: Ego ille sum Willelmus, quem multum dilexisti, quem patronum elegisti, et cuius opem inuocasti. Ecce assum et iam meum experieris aduentum. Quibus dictis, blande per faciem tumentem dexteram traxit medicabilem. Ad cuius continuo tractum tumens adeo subsidit facies, ac si nunquam intumuisset. Hoc facto, uisio disparuit, atque eger per noctis reliquum solito quietior permansit. Vbi autem lux illuxit crastina, omnem faciei tumorem subsedisse cognouit. Verum quoniam oculi tumor qui magis molestus fuerat, licet dolore aliquantulum interim sedato, in suo tamen adhuc statu permanebat, animo propensiori sanctum exorauit Willelmum, quatinus dolori suo conferret remedium. Et factum est subsequenti nocte, dum ille quiesceret, uenit ad eum sanctus iterum Willelmus propiusque accedens oculo male habenti crucis signum pollice impressit. Mira res, et admiratione plena. Signo enim facto, ac si subula pupugisset, confestim sub oculo

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that he preferred to die rather than go on living in this plight. Amid his frequent pangs and prickings he constantly repeated the names of the Virgin and St William, and complained of them for not coming to the aid of their servant. After remaining for some time in this state, the pain slightly abated, and the night after he slept. Then the blessed martyr of God William appeared to present himself, saying: "I am that William whom you have so much loved, and chosen for your patron, and whose aid you have invoked. Here I am, and you shall have proof of my coming." Thereupon he gently passed his healing right hand over the swollen face; and at his touch the swelling subsided as if it had never been. Then the vision disappeared, and the sick man slept better for the rest of that night than usual. When the morrow dawned he saw that the swelling in his face was quite gone. Yet, since the swelling in the eye, which had troubled him most, still remained as it was, though rather less painful, he implored St William yet more fervently to relieve his pain. And on the next night, while he slept, St William came to him again, and drew near and made the sign of the cross with his thumb upon the affected eye. Wondrous event, yea, full of wonder! When the sign was made, the skin below

pellis crepuit, et sanies per faciem multa profluxit. Euigilans ille, formamque uisionis retractans, saniem extersit, cuius indicio se sanatum esse comperit. Quod autem hoc non uanitatis fuerit illusio, sed uere uisionis efficax demonstratio, et sanies diebus multis profluens manifestauit, et rei geste inditium in cicatrice permansit.

xxi. *De matre sancti Vuillelmi martiris qualiter per uisum infirmitas eius ac mors ab eo denuntiata fuerit.*

EXCVRSIS aliquot diebus in uilla Norwici uirgo filia Martini piscatorii, que beatum martirem Willelmum mirabili diligebat et uenerabatur affectu, per uisum noctis dum quiesceret eundem sibi assistentem uidit et dicentem: Confortare, mihi puella karissima, et in amore meo constanter perseuera. Volo ut me uirginem amans uirginitatis tue florem illibatum custodias, ut et mihi uirgini mundum uirginee deuotionis prestes obsequium. Que cum crastina illuxerit dies familiaria quedam que tibi nunc iniungo exequere mandata. Mea siquidem ex parte sacriste dic Giulfo quatinus mihi crucem quanti sibi placuerit fieri faciat et ad pedes

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the eye burst as if it had been pricked with an awl, and a great deal of discharge ran over his face. He awoke, and remembering the manner of the vision, he wiped away the discharge, and by this indication discovered that he had been healed. And the continued flow for several days of the discharge, and the mark of the scar, remained to show that this was no vain illusion but an efficacious appearance of a true vision.

xxi. *Of the mother of St William, and how in a dream her sickness and death were foretold by him.*

Some time after this, there was in the town of Norwich a maid, the daughter of Martin the Fisher, who loved and revered the blessed martyr William with surprising affection, and in a dream of the night saw him appear to her and say: "Be of good cheer, maiden most dear to me, and continue steadfast in my love. I will that as thou lovest me who am virgin, thou shouldest keep the flower of thy maidenhood intact, and yield to me the virgin the pure service of a virgin's devotion. Now when the morrow dawns I will that thou accomplish certain simple commands which now I give thee. Tell Giulfus the sacrist from me that he is to make me a cross of whatever size he pleases,

sepulcri mei reponat. Per dies etenim multos latere sinistro iacui, uolens dominice crucis signum assidue pre oculis habere, quod et ipse meo portaui non nunquam in corpore. Hec autem ubi dixi affigatur, ut absque ullo flectende ceruicis labore illam intueri liceat. Quod si sacrista facere neglexerit, Thome cantori et matri mee dicito ut que iussa sunt ipsi saltem exequantur. Denique matri subiungas, ne scilicet moleste ferat, si quid illi aduersi contingat. Eoque libentius ac modestius toleret, quod per transitoriam carnis penam ad perhennem transitura est regni celestis gloriam. His dictis, uisio nocturna disparuit. Mane facto, uirgo uisa retractat et super tam uenerabili delectata uisione, quam citius potuit quibus iussum fuerat totum ex ordine negotium intimauit. Porro memoratus sacrista rem paruipendens neglexit, siue aliis intercurrentibus negotiis illud fortassis obliuioni per incuriam tradidit. Quamobrem necessario ego et predicta sancti martiris mater super mandatis pariter conferentes rem agendam suscepimus et pariter susceptam peregimus. Quoniam uero interim intercurrit infortunium, paulisper negotium permansit dilatum. Diebus etenim illis sancti martiris matrem egrotare contigit, atque ydropico in tantum laborare cepit morbo, ut iam

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and put it at the foot of my sepulchre. For I have lain for many days on my left side because I would have the Cross of the Lord always before mine eyes, which I bore myself once in my body. Let it be set where I have said, that I may be able to look upon it without the pain of turning my head. If the sacrist neglect to do this, then tell Thomas the Cantor and my mother, that they at least may carry out my bidding. And further say to my mother that she is not to take it ill if any mishap befall her, but bear it the more gladly and meekly for that she is to pass through the brief passion of the flesh to the glory of heaven's kingdom." Herewith the vision vanished. In the morning the maiden thought over what she had seen, and, rejoicing at the adorable vision, in all haste set forth in order the whole matter to those to whom she had been ordered to disclose it. Yet the sacrist thought little of the matter, and neglected it, either because other business intervened, or because he carelessly forgot it. So I and the aforesaid mother of the martyr were constrained to take counsel about the injunction, took the matter in hand, and completed it. But in consequence of an unfortunate occurrence, it stood still for a short time; for in those days it came about that the mother of the holy martyr fell ill, and was so sorely afflicted with the dropsy

nec pedibus ire nec lecto surgere nisi alieno suffulta posset adminiculo. Cumque acrius inualuisset acerbitas, lecto iacens in hunc orauit modum: Sancte Willelme, fili karissime, miserere matris tue, et que tot dolores ante partum et in partu pro te sustinui, doloribus meis et ipse compatere. Qua oratione compassus matris sue angustiis pius puer et martir, ea nocte illi per uisum apparuit dicens: Confortare, mater, et pacienter sustine penam quam tibi dominus preparauit ad coronam. Anime siquidem tue siquid peccatricis adhesit rubiginis, ut excoquatur necesse est fornace aduersitatis. Examinetur ergo carnis argentum ut reponi mereatur superni regis in thesaurum. Noueris tamen quoniam hac que nunc imminet pentecostes septimana tua ad tempus releuabitur infirmitas, propriisque usa gressibus ad me uenies. Cum autem ueneris, quam mandaui crucem tecum afferas. Presertim consummatis deinde aliquot diebus, tua ad tempus ad te reuertetur infirmitas. Que licet multo tibi acrius tunc incumbat, eam tamen uirilis animus eo uirilius perferat, quia omnis peccatorum tuorum macula hac egritudinis exturgetur pena. Qua mundata, concessit mihi dominus ut ad me transeas, atque sine fine felicitatis mee particeps existas. Hec dicens

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that she was unable any longer to walk, or even to rise from her bed without being supported; and as the disease increased upon her, she prayed thus as she lay in her bed: "O Saint William, my very dear son, have pity on thy mother, compassionate my pains, that before thy birth and in thy bearing have borne such pains for thee." The merciful boy and martyr did compassionate her strait thereupon, and in that night appeared to her, saying: "Be of good cheer, mother, and bear thy pain meekly, for the Lord hath prepared it for thee unto a crown. If there be aught of the dross of sin yet clinging to thy soul, it must be purged away in the furnace of adversity: therefore let the silver of thy flesh be refined, that it may be worthy to be laid up in the treasure-house of the King of Heaven. But know thou that in the Whitsun week now at hand thine infirmity shall be lightened for a time, and thou shalt come to my tomb on thine own feet. When thou comest, then, bring with thee the cross which I commanded. Presently thereafter, when some days have passed, thine infirmity shall come upon thee again for a time; and although it press thee much more sharply, let thy brave spirit endure it the more bravely, inasmuch as every spot of sin is being wiped away by this pain of thine, and when it is purely purged, the Lord hath granted me that thou shouldest pass home unto me and be for ever a partaker in my joy." Thus he spake and departed; and

recessit. Mane facto, mulier quod audierat, quod uiderat, sibi assistentibus enarrat. Michi quoque illam egrotantem uisitanti, id ipsum intimare curauit. Quibus nequaquam fidem adhibere potui, nisi me primitus ea constaret intueri. Verum cum illam postea uiderim conualescere, ad sepulcrum filii ebdomada pretaxata sospitem uenire, crucem pro mandato afferre et recurrente pristina egritudine uitam terminare, post hec quid aliud credi decuit nisi quia uisio illa fallax non fuit? Cui tandem uelut predictum est uitam carnis terminanti, omne humanitatis exhibuimus obsequium, ac deuotionis causa quam erga filium habebamus, matrem in cimiterio nostro honorifice sepeliuimus.

xxii. *De quadam a dolore et tumore genuum graui et diuturno curata.*

QVODAM post tempore Goda vxor cuiusdam Copmanni Norwicensis, quem dicunt de fonte, ad sancti Willelmi uenit sepulcrum, ut egritudini sue percipiat remedium. Per multos enim dies dolore renum laborauerat ac, demum descendente incommodo, genua quoque intolerabilis ille dolor inuasit, et breui ualde tumentia reddidit. Iamque crebrescentibus puntionum aculeis genibusque tandem ad ollarum grossitudinem redactis, adeo

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in the morning the woman told those with her what she had seen and heard; and she took care to tell me also, when I visited her. I could never have believed it, had I not seen all these things at first hand. But when subsequently I saw her get well and come quite whole to her son's tomb in the week indicated, and bring the cross in accordance with the injunction, and afterwards end her life under a second attack of the disease, what could my view be save that the vision was no lying one? When finally she ended her earthly life, as was prophesied, we showed her every courtesy and service; and for the devotion which we had to the son, we buried the mother with honour in our cemetery.

xxii. *Of a woman healed of pain and of a severe and long-standing swelling of the knees.*

Some time after, Goda, the wife of one Copman of Norwich, called of the Spring, came to the tomb of St William to receive relief of her sickness. For for a long time she had been oppressed with pains in the reins, and then the affection descended and attacked the knees with unbearable pain, and in a short time made them swell. The pangs now grew frequent, and the knees assumed the size and shape of pots, and

excreuerat molestia, ut pedum omnino deperiret incessus, et lumina quietis refugeret sompnus. Die ac nocte gemebat, clamabat, et tam acerbe se habebat, ut si illam cerneres, non uitali spiritu diu fruituram estimares. Accessit quoque ad mali cumulum oculi sinistri dolor uehementissimus, adeo ut breui tumescens oculus oui superexcederet grossitudinem. Que ergo de ipsius desperabatur salute, ad sanctum Willelmum quem precordiali semper dilexerat deuotione, deferri se fecit. Cumque iuxta sepulcrum illius adesset, diutissime orauit, candelam optulit, et quo annisu potuit, sepulcri lapidem nudis tetigit genibus palliumque[1] quo sepulcrum operiebatur oculum male habentem summa extersit diligentia. Mira res. Operante cum fide mulieris mirifica uirtute martiris, ad lapidis continuo tactum omnis euanuit dolor ac tumor genuum, palliique beneficio, pietas diuina male habenti subuenit oculo. Que igitur graui grauata ualitudine tristis aduenerat, celesti curata medicamine gaudens regreditur.

xxiii. *De altera ab aurium diuturna surditate curata.*

NEQVE multo post quedam Alditha Thoche cerarii olim uxor, quam ab egritudine diuturna meritis sancti Willelmi

[1] *sic*: *l.* pallioque.

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so severe was the attack that the power of walking disappeared, and the eyes were deprived of sleep. Night and day she groaned and cried, and was in such a plight that one would think to look at her that she had not long to live. To other evils were now added agonising pains in the left eye; and it shortly swelled up to the size of an egg. In despair of recovery she had herself carried to St William, whom she had always devotedly loved. Arrived at his tomb, she prayed long and offered a candle, and, as best she could, touched the stone of the tomb with her bare knees, and with the cloth that covered it wiped the diseased eye most carefully. Wonderful to tell! The miraculous power of the martyr worked together with the woman's faith, and immediately upon the touch of the stone all the pain and swelling of the knees disappeared, while by the healing of the cloth, the divine pity succoured the diseased eye. And so she who had come in sadness, labouring under severe illness, went back in joy cured by a divine remedy.

xxiii. *Of a second woman cured of a long-standing deafness.*

Not long after, Alditha, formerly wife of Thoche the chandler, of whom I told in the second book[1] how she was cured by the merits of

[1] Really in the third book. See p. 147.

curatam in secundo[1] commemorauimus libello, fidei ductu ad memoratum sancti martiris sepulcrum uenit, ac surdiciei sue remedium petiit. Ex multo etenim tempore obsurduerant aures adeoque inualuerat incommodum, ut nisi tuum illius auribus os applicares ab ipsa nequaquam audiri posses. Vnde et in publicum prodire uerebatur, et non nisi domesticorum utebatur alloquiis. Timebat enim ualde ne surdiciei sue obprobrium aliene quandoque noticie prodiret in risum. Cuius rei gratia ad Sancti Willelmi suffragia confugit, candelam optulit, effusoque lacrimarum fonte, ibidem aliquamdiu orauit. Denique flexis in oratione genibus et fidei tacta feruore aures utrasque quo sepulchrum tegebatur oppleuit pallio. Quid multa? Temporis articulo lacrimarum deuotio celos pulsauit petentis fides diuine pietatis misericordiam extorsit, et auris surda auditum suscepit.

Nunc quoniam admisso laxis habenis equo longius progressi sumus, fatigati cursu receptui canimus. Vtque fessi modice quietis refrigerio reparemur, labor interim intermittitur.

Explicit liber quintus.

St William of a long-standing illness, came, led by faith, to the sepulchre of the holy martyr, and implored relief from her deafness; for during a long time her ears had been growing deaf, to such an extent that you could only make yourself heard by putting your lips close to her ear. She was consequently afraid to go out, and only talked to her own family, fearing lest the reproach of her deafness should be detected by others, and bring derision upon her. So she had recourse to the intercession of St William, and offered a candle, and with a copious flow of tears prayed there for some time. Then, with knees bent in prayer, and stung by the fervour of faith, she stopped both her ears with the cloth that covered the tomb. What more? At once the devout tears smote the heavens, the faith of the suppliant extorted the mercy of God, and the deaf ear received hearing.

Now, as I have gone some distance at full speed with loose rein, wearied with the course, I sound a retreat and stop my task for a time, to refresh my weariness with a short interval of rest.

HERE ENDETH THE FIFTH BOOK.

LIBER SEXTVS.

Incipiunt capitula libri sexti.

i. De quarta translatione sancti Martiris a latere magni altaris ad austrum ad latus aquilonale, ad altare scilicet quod dicebatur sanctorum martirum.
ii. De filia Reginaldi de Warennia mire curata.
iii. De quodam a uehementissimo pedis dolore sanato.
iv. De quodam Ebrardo insano et sanato.
v. De quodam altero mirabilis insanie uiro sanitati restituto.
vi. De muliere insana similiter sanata.
vii. De puero a morbo caduco liberato.
viii. De ceca muliere illuminata.
ix. De Philippo de Bella Arbore, atque de ferreo brachii eius circulo ad sepulchrum sancti Willelmi confracto.
x. De quodam itidem altero a dextrali ferreo ibidem mire liberato. Eiusdem miraculi commendatio.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

Apr 5 1154

i. Of the fourth translation of the holy martyr, from the south side of the high altar to the north side, namely to the altar formerly called of the Holy Martyrs.
ii. Of the daughter of Reginald de Warenne, wonderfully healed.
iii. Of the cure of a man from a severe pain in the foot.
iv. Of one Ebrard mad, cured.
v. Of a second very mad man restored to health.
vi. Of a mad woman similarly cured.
vii. Of a boy cured of epilepsy.
viii. Of a blind woman enlightened.
ix. Of Philip de Bella Arbore and the iron ring on his arm broken at St William's tomb.
x. Of a second likewise freed wonderfully there from an iron on his arm. A discourse commending this miracle.

xi. De quadam mirabili modo contracta et sanata.
xii. De puero gibboso contracto et curato ac denuo contracto atque iterum ut prius sanato.
xiii. De muliere miro modo inflata et curata.
xiv. De altera itidem gutturnosa curata.
xv. De homine per afflatum colubri turgido ac denigrato meritis sancti Willelmi sanato.
xvi. De uirgine cuius mire curata est mamilla.
xvii. De saluatis in mari, et de tempestate sedata.
xviii. De duobus ferreis constrictis compedibus et a beato Willelmo noctu per uisum liberatis.
xix. De niso Alberti Gresle mire curato.

Incipit liber sextus.

i. *De translatione sancti martiris a latere magni altaris ad austrum ad latus aquilonale, ad altare scilicet quod dicebatur sanctorum martirum.*

DVM mirifica sancti martyris Willelmi uirtus tot ac tantis crebresceret miraculis, solito amplius populorum frequentari

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xi. Of a woman wonderfully bent and cured.
xii. Of a humpbacked boy cured, and again bent double and again cured as before.
xiii. Of a woman wonderfully swollen that was cured.
xiv. Of a second with a wen that was cured.
xv. Of a man swelled and blackened by a viper's breath, cured by the merits of St William.
xvi. Of a maid whose breast was wonderfully cured.
xvii. Of certain saved at sea, and of a tempest stilled.
xviii. Of two that were locked in iron fetters and freed at night by blessed William in a vision.
xix. Of the falcon of Albert Gresley wonderfully cured.

HERE BEGINNETH THE SIXTH BOOK.

1154

i. *Of the translation of the holy martyr from the south side of the high altar to the north side, namely to the altar formerly called of the Holy Martyrs.*

As the wonder-working power of the holy martyr William was so frequently manifested in so great miracles, he began to be waited upon

cepit turbis. Et quoniam tantis tamque frequentibus turbarum impressionibus locus quo sanctus iacebat martyr non respondebat, immo et sepe molesta erat angustia, suggerente Ricardo priore et conuentu exoptante, congruus ab episcopo decernitur locus, ubi et maiori ueneratione requiescat, et absque molestia plebs ad sepulcrum confluens accedat. Erat siquidem in ecclesia Norwicensi parte boreali sub latere magni altaris cancellus, sanctorum olim martirum uenerationi designatus. Hic itaque locus pre ceteris sancto martiri congruus deligitur, quia amplus, quia in diuersorio quieto positus, quia et martyrum nomini consecrandus. Erat uero annus ille incarnationis dominice MC. quinquagesimus quartus, in quo sub pasche die crastina nonas scilicet tunc Aprilis ad exequendum tante translationis negotium accingitur pontifex Willelmus et cum pontifice sacer ille monachorum conuentus. Hac inquam die plurima populorum stipante caterua, sub memorato cancello sanctis martiribus dedicatur altare, eoque sollenniter dedicato, corpus memorati martiris illuc summa cum ueneratione transfertur. Ibi quippe requiescit sepultus corpore, sed cotidianis choruscans miraculis uiuit in gloria. Terram illustrat membris, celum possidet

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by unwontedly large crowds; and, since the place where he lay was not adapted to this enormous throng and pressure, and the inconvenience was often very great, it was suggested by Prior Richard and begged by the convent and decreed by the Bishop, that a fit place be found for the martyr where he might rest in greater honour, and the people might approach his tomb without risk.

There was in the Church of Norwich on the north side, under the side of the high altar a chapel formerly set apart for the worship of the Holy Martyrs. This spot then was selected before the rest as a fitting spot for the holy martyr, as being large, as situated in a quiet place outside the procession-path, and as being consecrated to the name of the Martyrs.

It was in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1154, when on Easter Monday, to wit the Nones of April (Apr. 5), Bishop William girded himself to the accomplishment of this great work of the translation, and with him the holy convent of monks. On this day, I say, accompanied by a great throng of people, in the aforesaid chapel an altar was dedicated to the Holy Martyrs, and after the solemn dedication thereof, the body of the foresaid martyr was translated thither with all reverence. There he now rests buried in the body, but lives in glory, and resplendent with daily miracles. He dignifies the earth with his

meritis. Vbi acceptissimus deo martyr crebris usque in hodiernum diem prefulget miraculis quanteque sit apud deum uirtutis ac meriti euidentibus patescit signis. Ibi quippe cecis uisum, claudis gressum, mutis loquelam et insanis sepe uidimus sensum restitui, morbidos preterea quam plurimos curatos, ac nonnullos ferro constrictos conspeximus absolui. Dumque ibi non deficiant, immo et solito maiora crebrescant miracula, constat profecto quod precipua sint et preciosa in celis ipsius merita.

ii. *De filia Reginaldi de Warennia mire curata.*

PAVCIS post pretaxatam translationem diebus exactis, paruula filia Reginaldi de Gwarennia que aliquandiu iam egrotauerat, inualescente tandem morbo ad mortem usque peruenit. De cuius nimirum salute desperabant uniuersi, quoniam sub ipso mortis confinio, quasi minimo uita eius dependebat filo. Nempe supremo filie discrimini eo amplius parentes condolebant, quo illam pre ceteris unice semper dilexerant. Denique ex consulto matris Norwicum defertur beati Willelmi curanda meritis. Quo ubi peruenit, et sepulcrum cum oblatione attigit, continuo per gloriosi

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limbs but possesses heaven by his merits: and here, accepted of GOD, he is distinguished up to this day by frequent miracles, and it is manifest by evident signs how great virtue and merit he possesses in GOD's sight. Often have I seen sight restored to the blind, the power of walking to the lame, and speech to the dumb, and sense to the mad; many sick moreover healed, and some that were in irons freed. And whereas the miracles fail not, but rather multiply beyond their wont, it is clear that his merits are especial and precious in the heavens.

ii. *Of the wonderful cure of the daughter of Reginald de Warenne.*

A few days after the translation just described, the little daughter of Reginald de Warenne[1], ill for some time, came to death's door; all despaired of her recovery; she was on death's very verge, and hung to life but by a thread. Her parents were the more sharply grieved at their child's peril, inasmuch as they had always loved her beyond the rest of their children. By the advice of the mother she was at last brought to Norwich to be healed by the merits of St William. They arrived, and as she touched the tomb and made an offering, the pity of

[1] He was a younger son of William, second Earl Warenne, Lord of Wormegay in Norfolk. He and his wife Alice were benefactors to the nunnery of Carrow near Norwich when King Stephen founded it, in 1146: his daughter Muriel was a nun there. He died in 1185. See Foss, *Judges, sub nom.*, Blomefield, vii. 446, Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II., sub nom.*

martiris sui suffragia, illi pietas subuenit diuina. Eadem etenim hora conualuit, et que moribunda aduenerat, sospes cum suis remeauit.

iii. *De quodam a uehementissimo pedis dolore sanato.*

ERAT Norwici tunc temporis quidam, Godricus nomine, trapezeta officio, qui per multos adeo dies uno egrotauerat pede, ut uix ire, uix illo terram posset uel contingere. Cumque iam multum multo cum dolore exegisset tempus, tandem instinctu suorum ut potuit, baculi beneficio ad sancti Willelmi sepulcrum peruenit. Oblatoque ibi pede cereo quem ante factum secum attulerat, se in oratione ac uoto totum sancto martiri commendat. Verum post modicum consurgens, iam mitigatum ualde pedis dolorem sentit, domumque cum gaudio repe[n]dans, ex toto breui conualuit.

iv. *De quodam Ebrardo insano sanato.*

QVADAM itidem die quidam Ebrardus quem Norwicenses piscatorium dicunt, immundo uexatus spiritu, manibus post tergum ligatis, pedibusque compede constrictum ferrea, ad sepul-

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God at once succoured her by the prayers of His glorious martyr: for she recovered the same hour, and after coming in a dying state, returned whole with her friends.

iii. *Of one who was healed of excruciating pains in the foot.*

There was then at Norwich one called Godric, a money-changer by trade, who had long suffered in one of his feet so that he could scarcely walk or even put it to the ground. He endured this for some time, and at last was induced to come as best he could by the help of a staff to St William's tomb. There he offered a wax foot which he had had made and brought with him, and commended himself wholly to the holy martyr with prayers and vows. Rising after a little, and feeling the pain of his foot already much abated, he went home with joy, and in a short time recovered entirely.

iv. *Of one Ebrard, mad, who was cured.*

Again, on a certain day, one Ebrard, called Fisher by those of Norwich, vexed by an unclean spirit, was brought by a number of men to the holy martyr's tomb with his hands tied behind him and his feet

chrum sancti martiris multorum manibus adducitur. Vbi post paululum nexibus forte dissolutis manualibus, quos contingere poterat, ungulis ac dentibus crudeliter laniabat. Sed confluentibus plurimis resumitur, arctius coarctatur, et iuxta sepulcrum licet multum renitens reponitur. Dumque ibidem pernoctaret, nec ad modicum lingua eius garulizando cessauit, sed et tanquam multitudinis tumul[a]tus adesset, ita personuit. Tumultuans uero lingua non nisi ineptias personabat et blasphemias. Sub diluculo tandem paululum quieuit, ac diuina miserante gratia, per sancti Willelmi ut credimus suffragia, qui multas noctes insompnes transegerat et dies, salubriter dormire cepit. Intersertis uero pauculis uigiliis, iterum atque iterum sompno se conferebat, donec quietis beneficio nature corrupte subueniretur et cerebro. Postmodum ualde esuriens, allato sibi cibo et potu comedit et bibit, et cum gaudio circa horam nonam sanus abscessit.

v. *De altero mirabilis insanie uiro sanitati restituto.*

VIDIMVS quoque et alio tempore alterum insani capitis miro modo ante sepulcrum beati martyris furibundum quendam Robertum nomine, de parrochia sancti Michaelis de Chunigesfort

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locked in an iron bilboe. His hand-bands accidentally gave way, and he then savagely tore with teeth and nails all whom he could touch. A crowd running up, he was secured again, and bound more tightly and laid by the tomb in spite of his violent struggles. While spending the night there his tongue never kept still for a moment, but he went on as if a large crowd of people were present; and in this tumult of speech he uttered nothing but nonsense or blasphemies. At last, near dawn, he was quiet for a little; and by the mercy of GOD'S grace, through the intercession, as we believe, of St William, he who had passed many sleepless days and nights began to slumber wholesomely. With a few intervals of wakefulness, he slept again and again, till his diseased constitution and brain derived benefit from the rest. After this he was very hungry, and when food was brought to him, ate and drank, and joyfully went away whole about the ninth hour.

v. *Of a second wonderfully mad man who was restored to health.*

At another time also we saw a second man out of his mind who was raging fearfully before the tomb of the blessed martyr: his name was Robert, of the parish of St Michael Conisford[1] at Norwich. He

[1] The church was pulled down in the fourteenth century.

Norwici. Iste siquidem insanie morbo incertis solitus erat uexari terminis atque ob eam causam ad sanctum Willelmum cum matre tunc uenerat percipiende scilicet gratia sanitatis. Sed cum uenisset ad ecclesiam, subito arreptus uexari cepit. Quem mater flens multis delinitum blandiciis introrsus traxit, et coram martiris sepulchro exhibuit. Vbi uero paululum iuxta matrem orantem quiete constitisset, assistente et intuente plurima sexus utriusque turba, confestim toto tremebundus corpore quasi dissoluitur, et inestimabili modo torquetur. Ignei scintillant oculi, horrendi personant soni. Sonos multiplices os unum intonat, hominem oblitus conuulsis pannis corpus denudat. Pudenda parent nec pudet, sui impos potenti uirtute plurima exercet. Terrore assistens turba corripitur, stupent uniuersi, nonnulli lacrimantur, pro salute pacientis exorant plurimi. Quid multa? Sancti tandem martiris ut credimus meritis interuenientibus, diuina miseratio respicit hominem et explosa debachantis spiritus insania, prestat in posterum sanitatem. Implentur populi stupore miraculi, diuinam que uirtutem in sancto suo Willelmo mirabilem predicantes, cum gaudio singuli redierunt ad propria.

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was subject to attacks of madness at uncertain intervals, and had in consequence come with his mother to St William, in the hope of being cured. On arriving at the church he began at once to be violent. His mother with tears contrived to coax him into the building and presented him before the martyr's tomb. But when he had sat quietly for a short time beside his mother, who was praying in the presence of a large crowd of spectators of both sexes, he suddenly began to tremble all over as if he were breaking down altogether; and he suffered indescribably. His eyes flashed fire; he emitted frightful noises. The same mouth gave utterance to every kind of sound: forgetting his humanity he tore off his clothes and stripped himself naked; unable to control himself, he exercised enormous strength. The crowd of onlookers were panic-stricken; all were astonished, some wept, others prayed for the patient's recovery. What more? By the intervention, as we believe, of the prayers of the holy martyr, God's pity looked upon the man, drove out the madness of his raving spirit, and gave him sanity for the future. The people were filled with amazement at the miracle, and proclaimed the Divine power to be wonderful in his saint William, and returned to their homes in joy.

vi. *De muliere insana sanata.*

ALIO quoque tempore mulier quedam de Belhahe Sieldeware nomine maligno turbata spiritu, Norwicum a suis sancti Willelmi curanda meritis adducitur. Que cum ad ecclesie peruenisset introitum, ibi ducibus restitit suis atque a fortissimis quatuor uiris uix introrsum pertrahi potuit. Illa uero admirabili conualescens uirtute tenentium elabi manibus temptabat, et clara uoce personans dicebat: Quid mihi uultis? Quo me trahitis? Illuc illuc nullatenus ibo. Tum illi collatis uiribus eam uiolentius arripiunt peploque capiti sublato, brachia et zona, pedes constringunt. Constricta, igitur ad sepulcrum sancti martiris clamans et eiulans defertur, ac prope illud monachi custodis assensu deponitur. Ab ea statim hora mitius se habuit, clamoresque ineptos repressit. Timebat etenim hostis ut credo malignus suis illum clamoribus inquietare et inquietatum nimis offendere, cuius uicinie sibi formidabilis presentiam sentiebat adesse. Cum ergo inibi satis pacifice se haberet, qui insanam adduxerant, iam sanam crediderunt. Amouetur hac de causa eminus, in secessus diuersorio, eoque securius quo iam sana creditur, eoque iustius, quo

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vi. *Of a mad woman healed.*

At another time, a woman of Belaugh[1], by name Sieldeware, vexed by a wicked spirit, was brought by her friends to Norwich to be cured by the merits of St William: on arriving at the door of the church, she made a stand and could hardly be dragged inside by four strong men. With surprising efforts she strove to escape their hands, and kept crying loudly, "What would ye with me? Whither are ye dragging me? I won't, I won't go *there!*" Gathering their strength they seized her violently, and tearing off her head-kerchief bound her arms with that, and her feet with a girdle: thus bound, she was carried crying and screaming to the holy martyr's tomb and laid down near it, with the sanction of the monk who was guarding it. From that hour she behaved more calmly, and refrained from her foolish cries. For, as I think, the wicked enemy was afraid of disturbing the saint with his cries, and of offending him by so disturbing him, since he felt the presence of a power which he feared. Since then, she was behaving herself quietly enough there, those who had brought the mad woman thought that she was already sane: she was consequently taken away to a retired place with the more confidence as she was thought to be now sane, and with the more reason, that the

[1] A village on the Bure, eight miles north of Norwich.

plebs ad sepulcrum cum oblationibus confluens eius presentia non impediatur. Amotam uero sed adhuc tamen modo quo predixi constrictam, malignus itidem ut prius inuasit, et uexauit spiritus. Ex quo patenter conici datur, quoniam beatum martirem ualde timebat, in cuius presentia eam uexare ausus non fuerat, quam et modo absentem presens ipse torquebat. Porro mulier humi iacens, nunc talis tellurem conculcabat nunc dentibus uincula quibus artabatur discerpere conatur. Tum detestabiles ruminat ineptias, tum uocibus horrendis complet ecclesiam. Tam miserabili spectaculo multa hominum confluxerat multitudo. Ego quoque forte interfui, qui misere compassus, iterum prope sepulcrum illam reponi precepi. Quo facto, confestim ac si nichil antea mali pertulisset, quieuit, nullumque in ea insanie signum apparuit. Presertim post paululum sompno capta, que multis antea diebus non dormierat, non cibum sumpserat, dormire cepit, atque duobus semis diebus et una nocte continuo quieuit sompno. Tercia demum expergefacta die, cibo allato et potu fatiscentem recreauit spiritum. Reddita itaque sanitati pristine mulier, celeste remedium percepit, quo corpus salubritate et anima fide conualuit.

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people who assembled at the tomb with their offerings might not be hindered by her presence. But, when removed from the tomb, while she was still bound as I have described, the evil one came upon her as before and troubled her. So that we may plainly conjecture that he was much afraid of the blessed martyr, in whose presence he had not dared to trouble his victim, though when she was removed he came and tormented her. The woman, however, lay on the ground, sometimes drumming with her heels, sometimes trying to tear with her teeth the bands which confined her, muttering senseless and horrid words and filling the church with dreadful cries. A large crowd had already assembled to see the pitiful sight: I too happened to be there and in pity for her bade that she should again be laid by the tomb. At once she became quiet, as if nothing had ailed her, and shewed no sign of madness. In a little while sleep came upon her, and she who for many days had neither slept nor eaten, now slept for two days and a half, and one night continuously; and waking on the third day, when food and drink were brought to her, refreshed her exhausted spirit; and so, being restored to her former sanity, obtained the heavenly remedy, whereby her body grew strong in health and her soul in faith.

vii. *De puero a caduco morbo liberato.*

MILES quidam de Haghele Ranulfus nomine filium habebat, qui caduco morbo per multos annos laborauerat. Hic ad sanctum Willelmum a suis quandoque adductus, orationem fudit, oblationem optulit et, uelut postea matris nuntio didicimus, morbi illius molestiam ulterius non sensit. Venit et alius quidam de Luthingelant cuius nomen animo excidit, cum uille sue presbitero, qui scilicet rusticus similiter caduco laborabat morbo. Adeoque infestabatur incommodo, ut nulla omnino dies transiret, qua morbi illius molestiam non sustineret. Verum cum ad uenerabile beati martȳris uenisset sepulchrum, aliquamdiu in oratione perstitit, candelam optulit, et quod pie postulauit, fideliter optinere meruit. Diuina enim meritis sancti Willelmi propitiante gratia, non ulterius egritudinis sensit solite inquietudinem: atque eius rei postmodum tum ab ipso tum ab aliis, sic se habere cognouimus ueritatem.

viii. *De ceca illuminata.*

SUB ipso tempore in Lunna in parrochia sancti Edmundi, mulier quedam erat Gilliua nomine Burcardi carpentarii

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vii. *Of a boy cured of epilepsy.*

A certain knight of Haughley[1] named Ranulph had a boy who for many years had suffered from epilepsy. He was brought by his friends to St William, prayed, offered, and, as we afterwards learned from his mother, felt no further harm from the disease.

Another, too, whose name I have forgotten, came from Lothingland[2], with his parish priest; he was a peasant likewise afflicted with epilepsy, and to such a degree that hardly a day passed in which he did not experience an attack. But on coming to the adorable tomb of the blessed martyr, and praying for some time and offering a candle, he was accounted worthy to obtain faithfully what he asked in piety. For God's grace consented to the merits of St William, and he felt no further disturbance of his wonted sickness. We subsequently ascertained the truth of these facts from him and from others.

viii. *Of a blind woman who received sight.*

Near the same time, at Lynn in the parish of St Edmund[3], there was a woman called Gilliva, daughter of Burcard a carpenter. She

[1] A village in Suffolk near Stowmarket. [2] A hundred in Suffolk.

[3] The parish of St Edmund, North Lynn, is now united with that of St Margaret and St Nicholas. The church has disappeared.

filia. Hec die quadam casu uisum perdidit, eiusque oculos per triennium cecitas dampnauit. Ad cumulum uero infortunii tantus palpebris incessit dolor, oppressit angustia, ut toto illo triennio cilia semper clausa, et quasi uisco conglutinata haberet, neque illa quandoque aperire posset. Excurso tandem triennio, ad beati martiris Willelmi refugium tanquam ad unicum et singulare remedium confugere disposuit, eoque fiducialius quo et alios simili cecitate dampnatos, fama promulgante ad sepulchrum eius curatos didicit. Iuuenis nepos illius tradito funiculo preuius ducatum prebuit, cuius illa ducis beneficio Norwicum tandem ad sanctum Willelmum peruenit. Astans uero coram altari, orare cepit, modicaque orationis executa partiuncula, reliquum subita doloris uehementia intercipitur. Turbatur siquidem caput, oculus uterque uapore quodam igneo corripitur, unguibus frons et gene uelluntur. Deseuiente angustia, humi misera deuoluitur et quasi furiis agitetur per pauimentum uolutans, immensis et horrendis clamoribus totam repleuit et turbauit ecclesiam. Verum inter dolorum aculeos uoce uociferans clara, talia interdum interserebat: Alme puer et martir Willelme, miserere mihi misere, qui et aliis frequentissime misereris. Concurrit ad spectaculum multitudo popularis, que die illa ad ecclesiam turmatim processerat. Visa illius doloris

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lost her sight by an accident and suffered blindness for three years. To crown her misfortune, such pains and anguish attacked her in the eyelids that for the whole of that time her lashes were always closed, and as it were glued together, and she was never able to open them. At the end of three years she determined to fly for succour to the blessed martyr William, as to her one and only refuge; and this with the more confidence as report had told her that others similarly afflicted had been cured at his tomb. Her young nephew put a clew of thread in her hand and went before to guide her, and in this way she reached Norwich and St William. Standing before the altar she began to pray, and had finished but a little of her prayer when she was interrupted by a sudden and instant attack of pain. Her head reeled, her eyes were smitten with a fiery vapour; she tore her brow and cheeks with her nails, and falling on the ground in agony rolled on the pavement like a mad thing, filling the church with loud and terrifying shrieks. Yet amidst her pain she called aloud with such ejaculations as these: "O gentle boy and martyr William, pity me! many are those on whom thou hast mercy!" A large throng rapidly assembled, who had that day come to the church

uehementia, uniuersi compatiuntur, ac pietatis commoti uisceribus, preces pariter fuderunt et lacrimas. Erat in tam miserabili spectaculo, sexus disparis par fletus, uotum et eiulatus. Quis enim adeo lapideus talia cerneret, et non compunctus lumina fletibus contineret? Post tantos denique labores et cruciatus, diuine miserationis intuitu interuenientibus beati martiris ut reuera credimus meritis, paulatim cepit mitescere dolor. Tum illa celestis remedii sentiens aduentum, e terra surgens erectis ad celum manibus cilia que antea obclusa habuerat nec pre dolore uel ad modicum aperire poterat, tunc aperuit, statimque sanguinis quasi radius ab utroque oculo eminus prorumpens effluxit. Nec mora, quasi quadam noui luminis renascente aurora, diuturne cecitatis nox illa depellitur. Videns illa quam diu non uiderat, et diu desiderauerat lucem, letatur et ait: Nunc tibi, deus altissime uniuersorum conditor et reformator, tibi quoque sanctissime dei martir Willelme, debitas laudes et gratias persoluo quoniam et post tantos dolores quietem et, post triennii continuam cecitatem, uisum recipio. His dictis sanguinem ab oculis extergens et gressum mouens, sepulcro sancti martiris propius accessit, orauit, allatam sibi candelam optulit, et ad populum se conuertens, se

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in procession. All compassionated her sharp agony; and, moved with pity, poured forth prayers and tears. Both sexes wept, prayed, and cried alike at the pitiful sight. For whose heart could have been so stony as to behold this and refrain from shedding tears? At length after this long torture, at the look of the divine mercy, by the intervention, as we truly believe, of the blessed martyr's merits, the pain began slowly to abate. Then the woman, feeling that the heavenly medicine was on its way, rose, and lifting her hands to heaven, opened those lids which had been before closed, and could not be opened even for a moment, for the pain they gave her. At once a ray, as I may call it, of blood shot from either eye, and therewith the long night of blindness melted away as if at the dawn of a new light. She that had for long not seen, and had desired the light, now saw; and with joy she said, "Now unto Thee, O God most high, creator and amender of all things, and to thee also, William, most holy martyr of God, I pay the thanks and praises I owe, for that I now receive again rest after so great pain, and sight after three years' blindness." With these words she wiped the blood from her eyes and drew near to the tomb of the holy martyr. She prayed, and offered a candle that she had brought with her, and, turning

uisum recepisse predicauit. Admiratur assistens populus, luctus mutatur in gaudium, parique uniuersorum clamore ad laudem dei gloriosa et manifesta beatissimi martiris Willelmi uirtus extollitur.

ix. *De Phillippo de Bella Arbore et de ferreo brachii eius circulo confracto.*

CRESCEBAT cotidie admiratio, et fama sancti martiris. Confluebant ad eum ex longinquis etiam regionibus plurimi, absoluebantur uincti, curabantur infirmi, et qui tristes aduenerant, regrediuntur leti. Christus nimirum gratiam quam sancto suo contulerat inditiis mirabilibus dilatabat. Dumque magnis maiora, et miraculis succedunt miracula, non immerito beato martiri cuius hec fiunt meritis, laus crescit, et fame diffusioris gloria. Que uniuersa prout gesta sunt si commemorem, parabit prolixitas congesta fastidium. Ea propter pie lectoris deuotioni stilo simplici perstringimus, que relatu digniora uel famosissima iudicamus, quibus nec percurrentis uulneretur animus, nec deuotionis tepescat affectus. Igitur opere precium reor affectuosam legentium in-

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to the people, proclaimed that she had received her sight. The bystanders marvelled; their sorrow was turned to joy, and all united their voices in extolling the glorious and evident power of the most blessed martyr William, to the praise of God.

ix. *Of Philip de Bella Arbore and the breaking of the iron ring on his arm.*

Every day the fame and wonder of the holy martyr continued to grow, and many came thronging to him, even from remote districts: the bound were loosed, the sick healed, and those who had come in sorrow went away in joy. Christ was indeed increasing by wonderful signs the grace He had conferred on His holy one: and as greater wonders succeeded those already great, and marvel followed upon marvel, it was only reasonable that the praise of the blessed martyr should grow and his fame be spread abroad. Were I to relate everything as it happened my book would be so long as to engender disgust. So I merely sketch out in simple language for the pious reader such things as I judge best worth the telling or most widely known,—such, too, as will neither injure the soul of him who peruses them nor cause devotion to wax cool. I think it, then, worth while to

uitare, inuitatam accendere, accensam amplificare deuotionem, illum reuera admirabilem Philippi de Bella Arbore propalando euentum. Is de regione Lotharia oriundus erat, nobilis genere, miles professione, mundane potestatis preminens honore. Terram amplam, et castella plurima paterne hereditatis iure optinebat, sed frater quem aduersarium habebat ac rebellem, tum fraude tum rapine uiolentia, debitam sibi possessionem maxima ex portione imminuerat. Vnde contigit, ut fraterne dilectionis affectum a germanis mentibus subintrans et paulatim pullulans excluderet odium. Iamque in tantum succreuerat odii malitia, ut alter non nisi alterius sitiret cruorem, non nisi in alterius nece suam consistere speraret salutem. Dumque cuiusque salus et periculum fortune uersaretur alea, forte contigit ut Philippus, dum die quadam cum militibus suis itineraret, ex insperato rebellem germanum cum paucis obuium haberet. Quo casu perterritus ille, uersis frenis, omnem in celeritate fuge spem salutis posuit. Fugiens uero ad propinquam diuertit ecclesiam quam sub religionis habitu deo famulantes inhabitabant canonici. Hanc igitur quasi singulare salutis sue asylum cum suis tremebundus ingreditur, fores seris obserantur. Nec mora, cursu concito persequens Phi-

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attract the loving devotion of the reader, to kindle it when attracted, to fan it when kindled, by setting forth the truly marvellous case of Philip de Bella Arbore. He was a native of Lorraine, noble by birth, a soldier by calling, distinguished in worldly rank. He was entitled to a large territory and many castles by the law of inheritance; but a brother who was his enemy and rebelled against him had, partly by fraud, and partly by violence and rapine, diminished his rightful possessions by a large portion. In consequence, hatred crept into the brothers' minds, and slowly germinating drove out thence brotherly affection; and it grew to such a pitch that what each most thirsted after was the other's blood, and his only hope of safety lay in the other's death. And, as the peril and safety of each was tossed in fortune's game, it happened one day that Philip when journeying with his retinue unexpectedly fell in with his brother who was almost alone. The latter in panic turned his horse's head and pinned his hopes on swift flight. On his course he came to a church hard by, occupied by canons who lived and served God there as religious; trembling with fear he entered it with his men, as his only refuge, and the doors were locked. Philip in hot pursuit shortly

lippus aduenit, preclusas fores offendit, hostemque furens sibi reddi requisiuit. Cumque precibus ac minis diutius persisteret, et se incassum labore sentiret, ignem postremo furibundus admouet, ut uel ignis horror extorqueat, quod minarum terror non ualebat. Igitur admoto igne, et incumbente fortius uento, ecclesia, pro nefas! cum officinis incolis immo et que inerant uniuersis concrematur, locusque in planitiem nudam redigitur. Paruipendit uictor patratum facinus, quoniam hoste scilicet consumpto nimia pre leticia uictoris extollitur animus. Porro res tam crudeliter gesta diu latere non potuit, quia et sub ipso actionis articulo, fama quod gestum est, iam circumquaque diuulgauit, ac demum archiepiscopo Treuerensi, de cuius diocesi idem Philippus erat, res ipsa innotuit. A quo ille semel secundo ac tercio euocatus, super tanto scelere conuenitur. Sed ut heri et nudiustercius insolens repertus et contumax, prout christiane religionis decernit rigor, excommunicationis tandem sententia plectitur, terraque eius uniuersa, ut mos habet ecclesiasticus, anathematis uinculo innodatur. Verum ille iuuenili feruore feruens effrenis et effrunitus uniuersa nichili pendit, deum et homines non reueretur, furiisque inuectus, in malitie proposito quod ceperat biennio irreuocabilis

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came up, found the doors shut, and furiously demanded that his foe should be given up to him. Threats and prayers were found alike unavailing; so at last in his rage he set fire to the place in order that the fear of that might extort what his threatenings could not. The fire was kindled, there was a strong wind blowing, and, horrible to relate, the church, the adjoining buildings, the inmates, nay, everything in them was consumed, and the site reduced to a waste. Little cared the victor for his crime; he merely exulted over the destruction of his enemy. A deed so atrocious could not, however, long remained concealed; indeed, at the time of its commission the report of it was spread everywhere, and came to the ears of the Archbishop of Treves, to whose diocese Philip belonged. Summoned by this prelate to answer for the offence once, twice, and thrice, he remained from first to last insolent and contumacious, and was finally visited, as the strict law of Christianity enjoins, with the sentence of excommunication, and all his lands laid under the ban of the Church, as its law directs. Yet, in the heat of youth, uncurbed and unrestrained, he made light of all, feared neither God nor man, and like a madman persevered for a space of two years

perseuerat. Interea crebris interdum suorum monitis defatigatus et tandem persuasus, redit ad cor seuissimus iuris preuaricator. Et quoniam *dira rectum non conspicit ira*, ira cecus patrati facinoris uehementiam quam necdum diiudicauerat, ad se postmodum reuersus uehementer exhorrescens deplorat. Quandoque igitur humiliatus, ac toto corde consternatus, archipresulis pedibus lugens prouoluitur, ueniam petit promeretur. Ipsum itaque cum sociis malefactoribus ad papam tunc temporis Eugenium archiepiscopus dirigit, criminis modum litteris inserit eosdemque papa cum penitentie rescripto ad mittentem remittit. Quid multa? Lorica Philippus nudam ad carnem uestitur, gladio proprio circumcingitur, ferro brachia circulantur. Exilium preterea et peregrinatio decennis indicitur, loci sacri reparatio fieri iubetur. Quique nefandi consodales pariter extiterant facti, et in pena non dispari compares sunt effecti. Iam itaque ferro pariter dampnati, pariter exeunt de terra, et de cognatione sua, tempore prefinito peregrinantes in aliena. Emensis denique plurimis per septennium regionibus diuine miserationis intuitu, Philippus ille apud Ierusalem coram dominico sepulcro diruptis ac dissolutis lorice sue

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in the evil course he had begun. During all this time, wearied by the frequent warnings of his men, and at last persuaded, the ferocious lawbreaker returned to his senses. And since "*blind wrath sees no path*," as long as he was blinded with his wrath he had never appreciated the gravity of his crime; but on returning to himself he lamented it with horror. Humbled at length and prostrate with terror, he flung himself at the feet of the archbishop, begged forgiveness and obtained it. The archbishop sent him and his companions in crime to the then pope, Eugenius (c. 1145—53), with a letter setting forth the manner of the crime; and the pope sent them back whence they came with a decree of penance. To be short, Philip was clothed in a shirt of mail on his bare flesh, girt with his own sword, his arms ringed with iron, and a ten years' sentence of exile and wandering, as well as the reparation of the holy place he had destroyed, enjoined upon him. Those who had shared in the awful deed shared also in the punishment. Condemned to a like wearing of irons, they all went forth from their lands and their kindred and wandered abroad for the period prescribed. After traversing many lands in a period of seven years God's mercy looked upon Philip, and at Jerusalem before the sepulchre of the Lord the mail of his

maculis, mulcte sue maxima liberatus est portione. In Hibernia quoque apud sanctum Brendanum, diuine uirtutis gratia, quo circumcingebatur interruptus est gladius. In Anglia uero apud Norwicum, ad beatissimi martiris Willelmi sepulcrum ferreus brachii dextri confractus est circulus. Dum enim post diuturnam peregrinationem plurimas Anglie penetrando regiones, uenerando sanctorum loca requireret atque suffragia, diuina ut credimus illum trahente gratia, Norwicum ad iam famosissimum egregii martiris Willelmi sepulchrum aduenit. Vbi dum pie deuotionis preces effunderet, subito in oculis nostris dextri brachii crepuit ferrum, cuius sonitus aures reddidit attonitas assistentium. In qua reuera operatione martiris, diuine nobis patenter claruit uirtus pietatis. Cuius rei tam glorioso spectaculo accurrit sacer ille monachorum conuentus deumque in sancto martŷre suo mirabilem predicans, laudes ei debitas exsoluit et gratias. Nempe illis credendum non censeo, qui huiusmodi facta trutannorum asscribunt fraudulentie. Quicquid enim malitiosi girouagi uictualis gratia questus agant, nos utique quod oculis nostris reuera conspeximus, audacter protestamur. Quin ad fidei argumentum certum ueritatis accessit testimonium. Erat siquidem diebus

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shirt burst asunder, and freed him from the greater part of his penance. In like manner in Ireland at St Brendan's shrine (at Clonfert)[1] by God's grace the sword wherewith he was girded broke in sunder. But in England, at Norwich, at the tomb of the most blessed martyr William, the iron ring on his right arm was broken. For when after long wanderings he had traversed most parts of England seeking the prayers of the saints and their shrines and worshipping there; drawn by God's grace, as we believe, he came to Norwich, to the tomb, already famous, of the excellent martyr William. Here, as he was praying with great devotion, the iron of his right arm suddenly snapped, in our sight, startling the ears of the bystanders with its sound; in which true working of the martyr the power of the divine pity was plainly shewn to us. At the glorious sight the holy convent of monks assembled and, proclaiming God to be wonderful in His holy martyr, gave Him due praises and thanks. I certainly do not think that credence can be given to those who attribute occurrences of this kind to the cunning of impostors: for whatever evil-disposed mountebanks may do for the sake of victuals, we at any rate can boldly testify to what we have seen with our eyes. Yet more: there is sound evidence to justify belief. For there was then at Norwich a

[1] No trace of the shrine remains.

illis Norwici mercator quidam Coloniensis qui de regionibus illis nauigio uinum attulerat. Hic memorato uiso Philippo, quem prouintia Treuerensi quandoque uiderat recognouit et que fama uentilante de ipso postea didicerat, nobis retulit. Vnde constat que de illo scripsimus et uerissima esse, et detrectoribus super hoc credi non debere.

x. *De quodam altero a dextrali ferreo liberato.*

SED neque silentio pretereundum estimo de Glewo, quem ob reatus sui olim noxam ferro dampnatum, sanctique Willelmi postea liberatum conspeximus meritis. Hic Lincolniensis prouintie indigena erat, et in uilla que Repham dicitur ab ineunte manens etate, domos in ea quandoque terram et parentes habuerat. Fuerat autem illi frater, natu quidem maior, sed hoc solo fortior, quia ditior. Porro qui tanta possidebat quanta tali sufficere debuissent, amplificandi agri cupiditate ductus memorato fratri agrum uiolentia surripuit, quem scilicet sibi ob uiciniam pernecessarium iudicauit. Dum uero frater fratrem affectu fraterno et satis placide sepius coram amicis et parentibus super ea uiolentie iniuria conuenisset, et ille iam insolens et elatus nullatenus adquiesceret, eo maiori

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merchant of Cologne who had brought wine over in a ship from that part of the world. This man on seeing Philip recognised him, having seen him before in the province of Treves, and told us what he had afterwards heard about him. It is plain then that what we have recorded about him is quite true, and that detractors are not, in this case, to be believed.

x. *Of a second who was freed of an iron ring on his right arm.*

The case of Glewus, too, cannot be passed over, whom we beheld condemned to wear irons for a crime, and thereafter freed by the merits of St William. This man was a native of the province of Lincoln: he had lived from his youth in the town called Repham[1], and possessed houses, land, and relations there. He had a brother, older than himself, but only stronger than he because he was richer. Now, though he had possessions amply adequate for one of his rank, he was attracted by desire of land violently to steal a portion of it from his brother Glewus. The latter often remonstrated with him on this unjust conduct in a brotherly fashion, and with due moderation in the presence of his friends and relatives; but he was so insolent and overbearing as never to yield. Glewus was the more inflamed with wrath as he

[1] A village four miles from Lincoln, evidently not the Reepham in Norfolk.

dolore i[s]dem Glewus exarsit, quo malignam fratris insolentiam omnimodis irreuocabilem conspexit. His irritatus, et magis ac magis paulatim exacerbatus, iam se fratrem oblitus, omnem f<r>aterni amoris exuit affectum. Iam iamque tanquam hostis externus mente turbida uoluere cepit, cuiusmodi uindicta uiolenti hostis uindicaret iniuriam. Dumque in his eius agitaretur animus, contigit die quadam uiolentum illum surreptum inducto aratro excolere agellum, atque ibidem cum duobus pariter filiis consistere. Quo alter audito, arrepta protinus furca ferrea in agrum prodit, in fratrem et nepotes insurgit, eosque cum furca interemit. His ita gestis, Glewus ille tam execrandi patrator facinoris in contionem rapitur, de fratricidio accusatus exilio condempnatur. Vnde penitentia ductus, Willelmi Lincolniensis archidiaconi assensu, quem super reatus sui consuluerat consilio peremptricis furce ferro dexteram fratricidam circulauit, sacco cilicino se induit atque a patria in octennium exul progrediens, loca sanctorum per totam Angliam miserationis optentu peragrauit. Exacto itaque sub hac peregrinatione triennio, fines tandem episcopii Norwicensis ingrediens, Bedricheswurthe peruenit, atque ecclesiam in qua

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saw the insolence of his brother to be entirely without remedy. Irritated and provoked more and more he soon forgot his relationship to his brother and lost all brotherly love for him, and began to revolve in his mind what would be his best method of avenging himself on his proud rival, as if he had been a foe of alien blood. While he was in this frame of mind, it happened one day that his overbearing brother brought a plough into the field he had usurped, and began to till it, remaining there with two of his sons. Glewus heard of it, snatched up an iron pitchfork, rushed out into the field, attacked his brother and nephews and killed them all with the fork. Upon this, as having committed an abominable crime, Glewus was brought to justice, indicted for murdering his brother, and condemned to banishment. In a penitent mood, with the sanction of William, Archdeacon of Lincoln[1], whom he had consulted in regard of his guilt, he made a ring of the iron of the murderous pitchfork and put it round the right arm with which he had slain his brother. Then, clad in a hair shirt, he left his native place for eight years' exile, and visited the shrines of the saints throughout England to obtain mercy. In this manner he passed three years, and eventually entered the bounds of the diocese of Norwich, and, arriving at Bedrichesworth (Bury) entered

[1] Apparently William de St Clere, who held the Archdeaconry of *Northampton* in the diocese of Lincoln from 1144 to 1168. See Le Neve's *Fasti*.

egregius rex et martir requiescit Edmundus, orandi et ueniam postulandi causa subintrauit. Qui cum in presentia sacri martiris erectis sursum palmis preces cum lacrimis aliquamdiu effudisset, subito ferrum uirtute confractum diuina crepuit, sed nescio quo diuini secreti consilio, licet ad pollicis mensuram fractura panderet hiatum, ita tamen circa brachium immobile permansit. Sicque res gerebatur, ut una confracti circuli extremitas carni strictissime se imprimeret, alteraque cuti superficietenus adhereret. Vnde contigit acerbiorem inferri molestiam cum confractum fuerit, quam dum solidum perdurauit. Tam acerba igitur constrictus molestia, se malle predicabat ad sanctum Edmundum non uenisse, quam uirtutis eius potentiam taliter degustasse. Subsequenti uero, uelut ipse nobis postmodum retulit, nocte, a beato Edmundo per uisum ammonitus est, quatinus propere Norwicum transeat, ibique ad sepulcrum sancti martiris Willelmi diuine de reliquo misericordie expectet absolutionem. His ille animatus, mox Norwicum ad sanctum properat Willelmum, ubi per dies aliquot desiderabilis illius promissi prestolatur effectum. Quo fideliter in spe promissi prestolante, die quadam dum ad sepulcrum beati Willelmi extensis ad celum palmis supplicaret, subito ille ferreus dextere circulus

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the church wherein the excellent king and martyr Edmund rests, in order to pray and beg for pardon. Raising his hands to heaven in presence of the holy martyr, he prayed and wept for some time. On a sudden the iron, broken by the power of God, snapped; but, in pursuance of some secret counsel of God, although there was a gap in it of a thumb's breadth, it still remained immovably fixed round the arm, and in such a way that one end of the broken ring pressed hard into the flesh, while the other merely remained in contact with the skin. So that greater discomfort was caused by it in its broken state than when it was whole. In this uncomfortable plight the man said that he had rather never have gone to St Edmund than have experienced such a taste of his power. But on the following night, as he afterwards told me himself, he was warned by blessed Edmund in a dream to go quickly to Norwich and there at the tomb of the holy martyr William to wait for release at the hands of the divine mercy. Thus encouraged he hastened to Norwich to St William, and for some days waited for the fulfilment of that desirable promise. And as he waited in faith, on a certain day, when he was praying at the sepulchre of St William with hands outstretched to heaven, suddenly that iron ring upon his right arm broke on the other side; I

ex aduerso confringitur, ita ut in duas scilicet partes diuisus uideretur. Vna siquidem pars uirtute quadam diuina longe retro quasi proiecta dissiluit, altera coram eo super pauimentum decidit. Cum spectaculo multa plebs affuit, et exsoluendas diuine gratie gratias et laudes conuentus conuenit. Pontifex quoque Willelmus audito tam eximie uirtutis preconio accurrit, atque examinata ueritate, dominice laudis ýmnum monachis et clericis sibi uicissim respondentibus effusis pre gaudio lacrimis inchoauit.

Miraculi commendatio.

LIBET his paulisper subistere et in admiratione tanti miraculi interim spaciari. *Sapientia dei abissus multa,* in qua siquidem abisso si rationis humane intuitus singulas rerum inuestigando uel diiudicando causas discurrat, constat profecto, quoniam finem non inueniens aut in se redeat, aut per illicita cursitando errorem incurrat. *Incomprehensibilia sunt* enim *dei iudicia, et uie eius inuestigabiles.* Igitur inter cotidiana nostri temporis miracula, quare hic curetur, et ille non exaudiatur, cur ibi iste absoluatur, et alibi non liberetur, noli uelle discutere, nisi

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mean, so that it appeared divided into two parts. One part, by the power of God, leapt to some distance behind him, as if it had been thrown: the other fell in front of him on the pavement. Many were present at the sight, and the monks assembled to render thanks and praises to God's grace. The Bishop William also, on hearing this mighty work proclaimed, came to the spot, and, after investigating the facts, led the hymn of praise to the Lord with tears of joy, while the monks and clerks answered one another in alternate strains.

A commendation of this miracle.

Here let us pause a moment and expatiate for a while in wonder at this great miracle. *The wisdom of God is a great deep:* and if the glance of man's reason takes to wandering, tracking out and deciding the causes of all things in this great deep, it is plain that, finding no end it must either return upon itself or, wandering through unlawful paths, must fall into error. For *the judgments of God are unsearchable and His ways past finding out.* Among the daily miracles of our time, then, be not careful to discuss why this man is healed and that man not healed, why another is loosed at one place, and elsewhere not loosed, unless you wish to err. We know,

uelis errare. Nouimus quippe ac pro certo tenemus, regium martirem Edmundum et beatum puerum ac martirem Willelmum, magni reuera apud deum esse meriti, quos pro eius amore coronatos constat palma martyrii. Ille antiquorum triumphauit temporibus, iste nostri temporis passus est diebus. Sustinuit ille paganos in legem Christi deseuientes, pertulit iste iudeos in se quasi mortem Christi reiterantes. Ille uero usque in etatis nostre annos mirificis effulsit signis, iste cotidianis crebrescit miraculis. Veruntamen in hoc quod inpresentiarum memorauimus eximie uirtutis signo, uelut ipsa res indicat pari pariter cooperati sunt beneficio. Ferreum enim ut prelibauimus ille circulum una ex parte confregit, iste ex altera dissoluit. Hec cum ita sint, non tamen his hunc illi preferendum astruo, neque illum huic inequalem affirmo. Sed neque ex hoc cuiuspiam in nos moueatur inuidia, si in miraculorum exhibitione beatissimum martirem Willelmum ceteris sanctis quasi conferimus quoniam, cum sancti sue uicissim glorie non inuideant, cur pro ipsorum miraculis inuidie morsibus nos inuicem laceremur? Vnum aliquem induco, ad quemlibet tamen loquor. Si igitur ecclesia nostra per sancti martiris nostri clarescat merita, nunquid

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indeed, and hold it certain, that both the royal martyr Edmund and the blessed boy and martyr William are truly of great merit in the sight of God. Both were crowned with the palm of martyrdom for the love of Him. The first triumphed in the times of the ancients; the second suffered in our own day. The one withstood the heathen raging against the law of Christ, the other endured the Jews renewing as it were in him the death of Christ. The one has shone up to this day with wondrous signs, the other is growing in frequency of daily miracles. But yet, in the case of this sign of excelling power which we have just related, both of them, as the facts shew, worked together to confer an equal benefit. For St Edmund broke the iron ring on one side, as we have said, and St William broke it on the other. Now, though this is the case, I do not therefore assert that William is to be preferred to Edmund, nor affirm that Edmund is unequal to William. And let not the envy of any be stirred against us because we are comparing the most blessed martyr William with other saints in respect of his shewing wonders: for since the saints themselves are not jealous of each other's glory, why should we bite and devour one another in envy in championing their miracles? I am singling out one adversary —yet I am addressing everyone. If our Church, then, is growing famous through the merits of our holy martyr, must you on that

ideo uilescere cogitur uestra? Nunquid si uestra in laudis conualescat augmentum, nostra ideo cadere compellitur in uituperium? Cesset, cesset liuoris mordacitas, parique pariter uoto sanctorum magnalia et diligendo recolamus et recolendo magnificemus. Quisquis es denique cuius animum questio pulsat, quare scilicet gloriosus rex Edmundus et tante uirtutis martir uel Philippum illum cuius premiseram mentionem non absoluerit, uel hunc saltem Glewum non penitus liberauerit, constanter respondeo, quia si uoluisset, credo quia et posset. Sed quia non sunt nostri iuris diuini cause secreti, noli in altum extollere sapientie tue cornu, ne si ad sobrietatem non sapias dissolutus desipias. Quod tamen de Glewo fideliter astruere possum, breuibus absoluam. Velut ex rei geste modo conicimus, uel in hoc saltem miraculo gloriosus rex et martyr Edmundus gloriosum martyrem Willelmum habere uoluit comparticipem quem sue regionis contigit in martirio habere consortem, et quod ipse inchoauit, huic peragendum direxit. O quam preclara dei summi uirtus et sapientia, que ita in sanctis suis mirifice operatur, ut ipse in ipsis et ipsi per ipsum magnificentur.

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account be debased? If, again, the praise and glory of yours is increased, does ours of necessity fall into reproach? Cease, cease your envious carping, and let us unite in recording with love and extolling with devotion the mighty works of our saints. Whoever you may be, if the question knocks at your heart's door "Why did the glorious king Edmund, a martyr of such might, either not free Philip" whom I mentioned a little time back, "or at least not loose this Glewus completely?" I answer boldly that I believe that, if he had wished to do so, he could have done it. But, inasmuch as the causes of God's secrets do not belong to us, lift not up the horn of thy wisdom on high, lest, if thou be not wise unto soberness, thou be broken in thy foolishness. But as to what I can faithfully assert with regard to Glewus, I will put it shortly. As I conjecture from the manner of the occurrence, the glorious king and martyr Edmund wished, at least in this miracle, to have the glorious martyr William for an associate, as he happened to be his fellow in respect of the region wherein he was martyred: and so he commissioned him to finish what he himself had begun. O how glorious is the power and the wisdom of the most high God, that works so wonderfully in His saints, that He in them and they through Him may be magnified!

xi. *De quadam mirabili modo contracta et sanata.*

MVLIER quedam Matildis nomine tempore illo erat, quam ab adolescentie flore debilitas dolenda dampnauerat. Facta est siquidem ab ea etate adeo corpore imbecillis, ut curuata dorsi spina, et ipsa fieret curua, et cancellatis cruribus innexa uicissim colliderentur genua. Vnde contigit, quod si quandoque de loco se ad locum transferre uoluisset, imbecillia baculo membra sustentans, uel gressus modicum proficeret uel nonnunquam nec in modico preualeret. Hanc Petrus presbiter de Langeham uilla episcopali per multum tempus elemosine gratia[1] in domo sua tenuit, pauit, et uestiuit. Quam si quandoque recuperande sanitatis gratia sacra uisitare loca concupisset, illuc equo ad instar sacci pleni in transuersum deportare faciebat. Verum ubi labori fructus non respondisset, domum qualis fuerat referebatur. Percrebrescente tandem uirtutum tam frequentium sancti Willelmi preconio, spem illa recuperande per ipsum sanitatis concepit. Vnde non modicam confidentie concipiens alacritatem, baculo assumpto uersus Norwicum iter arripuit. Porro gradiens illa magis animi feruescentis proficiebat motibus quam materiali pedum obsequio, modicum

[1] gratie *cod.*

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xi. *Of the healing of a certain woman who was wonderfully bent.*

There was at that time a woman named Matildis whom a pitiable weakness had afflicted from her earliest youth. Ever since then, in fact, she had been so weak of body, that owing to the curvature of her spine she was quite doubled up, her legs were twisted together, and her knees pressed one against the other. The consequence was, that when she wished to go from one place to another she had to support her feeble limbs with a stick and either succeeded in getting a little way, or, sometimes, was not able to do even this. Peter, the priest of Langham[1], a vill of the Bishop's, had long housed her by way of charity, and supplied her with food and clothing. If she ever desired to visit some shrine for the recovery of her health, he used to have her taken there laid like a sack across a horse. But she was always brought back as she had gone, and no good result followed her pains. When the fame of St William's great virtue was spread abroad, she conceived the hope of being cured by his means, and with eagerness born of confidence took her stick and started for Norwich. Her steps were helped by the fervent emotions of her mind more than by the material assistance of her feet, and she trusted to her own strength

[1] Five miles west of Holt.

propriis confisa uiribus, sed plurimum sustentante fidens in baculo. Erat in passu uix digitalis amplitudo, inter passum uero et passum morosa dilatio, ut, si gradientem cerneres, testudinem tardiorem non iudicares. Ex quo nimirum contigit, ut duodecima die ante tunc temporis quadragesimam iter incipiens, quarta paschalem post solennitatem ebdomada Norwicum perueniret. Veniens uero mox ut ecclesiam episcopalem subiit, pedum plantas quasi spinosis quibusdam aculeis perurgeri sensit. Stans autem ante sepulcrum gloriosi martiris et imbecillia baculo membra sustentans, extensis in orationem palmis, totam coram deo animam effudit, sed media orationis uerba dolor subitus interrupit. Perurgente doloris angustia humi deuoluitur humumque capite, humeris, pedibus et palmis contundens, clammosisque uocibus complens ecclesiam, miro ac miserabili se agebat modo. Quis inquam tam ferreus, qui talia cernens astantibus consisteret et a lacrimis lumina contineret? Denique post tantas tortionum angustias, estus tanti quieuit doloris, uelut, uentorum sedata rabie, turbati seuitia quiescere solet equoris: surgit itaque post paululum mulier, et quoniam et adhuc debilis erat uiribus, ad maceriam se contulit, palmarumque beneficio per cancellatas gradiens columnellas, ad desideratum beati martiris sepulcrum tandem peruenit. Vbi uota soluens et gratias, ibidem

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less than to the stick that supported her. Each step was hardly a finger's length, and there was considerable delay between them, so that one watching her progress would judge her to be slower than any tortoise. The result was that, though she started on the twelfth day before Lent, she reached Norwich in the fourth week after Easter. At the moment of her entering the cathedral church, she felt the soles of her feet pricked as if by thorns: but when she stood before the tomb of the glorious martyr, and supporting her feeble limbs on her stick raised her hands in prayer, and poured out her whole soul before God, in the midst of her prayer she was interrupted by a sudden attack of pain. The anguish increased, and she rolled upon the ground, beating it with head, shoulders, feet and hands, and filled the church with cries—behaving herself altogether in a marvellous and pitiable manner. Who, I ask, would be so stony-hearted as to stand and look upon this and refrain his eyes from weeping? At last, after all this anguished writhing the violence of the pain abated, as the raging of the troubled sea is calmed when the mad winds are stilled. So the woman after a little got up, and since she was still in a feeble condition, she made her way to the screen, and passed along it by clinging to the shafts, and so finally reached the desired tomb of the blessed

per aliquantam horam diei gratulabunda permansit. Deinde conuersa ad circumstantium multitudinem, constanti protestabatur eloquio, quanta beati Willelmi meritis in se patrata sint magnalia. Quia uero infidelis quispiam et incredulus id magis fallacie asscribebat quam miraculo, se illa Norwico nullatenus discessuram iurauit, donec dominus ille suus prenominatus scilicet de Langeham Petrus ueniret, qui ueritati testimonium perhibens garrulam illam infidelitatis litem dirimeret. Que et ita gesta sunt, quoniam et ipsa Petri illius prestolata est aduentum, et ille ueniens ueritati perhibuit testimonium.

xii. *De puero gibboso contracto et sanato.*

ERAT quoque in uilla que Wurtham dicitur quidam Godricus nomine ex cuiusdam Roberti Galensis nepti filium habens decennem, quem imbecillitas diuturna dampnauerat, et de die in diem morbi uigor inualescebat. Percurrente per artus molestia, arefacti nerui contrahuntur, et incuruata dorsi spina dorso gibbus innascitur. Fit itaque puerulus de recto contractus, et adherente genibus uentre cum ambulare proponeret, applicatis ad genua uel terre palmis, ipsa uel ipsam pro podio haberet. Medici frustra

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martyr. Here, in prayer and thanksgiving, she passed a good part of the day; and then turned to the throng of onlookers and boldly testified to the great things that had been done for her by the merits of St William. But, inasmuch as a faithless and unbelieving individual was inclined to ascribe the cure to craft rather than miracle, she vowed that she would not leave Norwich until her aforesaid Sir Peter of Langham should come, and by bearing witness to the truth put an end to the wordy contentions of unbelief. And this was accomplished; for she awaited the coming of Peter, and he, when he came, bore witness to the truth.

xii. *Of the cure of a hump-backed and deformed boy.*

There was also in the town called Wortham one Godric by name who had a son by the niece of a certain Robert of Wales, aged ten years and afflicted by long weakness, which daily increased upon him. The disease infected all his limbs: the sinews were dried up and contracted: his spine was bent, and a hump grew on his back. From being upright the boy became crooked; his stomach was pressed against his knees and, when he wanted to walk, he had to place his hands on his knees or on the ground, and use one or the other for a support.

laborantes adhibentur, luctus solus parentibus reseruatur, unde ad gloriosum dei martyrem Willelmum spes tarda conuertitur. Norwicum ergo manuali uehitur uehiculo et iuxta sepulcrum sepedicti martiris exponitur. Pater indulgens lacrimis gaudia filio mercatur sanitatis. Res mira et seculis nostris admiranda! Sub ipsa enim aduentus eius hora uniuersa imbecillitatis loca uirtus medicabilis percurrit, uirtutemque preuiam sanitas festina subsequitur. Ariditas succum, nerui officia suscipiunt. Extendentibus uero se neruis maximis puer afficiebatur doloribus, quibus anxiatus, lingua patria "Patrem patrem" clamitabat; pater uero sanari cernens filium, exultat. Post pauca erigitur puer, atque in conspectu omnium et filio incolumitas, patrique filius restituitur. Congaudet nimirum filio pater et procedit cum patre filius hilaris et erectus qui tristis aduenerat et contractus. Consumpto autem Norwici triduo, pater cum filio domum regreditur et post dies aliquot nescio quo casu siue infortunio pristine molestie reiteratur imbecillitas. Super quo consultis pater amicis, ad piissimum martirem filium refert imbecillem ut clementissima illius pietas iterate filii molestie iterata conferat remedia. O quam benigna diuine

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The doctors who were consulted did him no good; grief only remained to his parents. So at length their tardy hopes turned to the glorious martyr of God, William. The boy was accordingly brought to Norwich in a handbarrow and laid by the tomb of the often-mentioned martyr. The father's tears brought the joys of health for his son—wonderful event, to be marvelled at by all our time! At the very moment of his arrival the healing power penetrated all the parts affected and soundness of body followed fast on the track of the healing virtue. His dryness received sap, his sinews strength. As the sinews stretched themselves, the boy was agonised with pain, and in his anguish kept calling "Father, father!" in English: but the father rejoiced, seeing that his son was being healed. In a short time he rose, and in the sight of all, health was restored to the son, and the son to the father. The father rejoiced with his son, and the son walked upright and joyful by his father's side, who had come wretched and bent. They spent three days at Norwich, and then returned home, and after some days, by what chance or accident I know not, the old weakness and trouble returned. The father took advice of his friends and brought back his weak child to the most merciful martyr, that his kind pity might anew remedy the renewed sickness of his son. O how loving is the

uirtutis gratia, quam pia est piissimi martiris Willelmi clementia! Relatus puer quemadmodum primo, ita et nunc sospitati redditur atque in ipso iterum dei magnalia glorificantur. Quamobrem pater prouido usus consilio, multis ibi diebus perhendinare permisit filium utpote puero martyri puerilibus famulaturum obsequiis. Coniciebat siquidem ex ante gestis sanctum martirem et puerum uelle, ad tam eximie uirtutis argumentum, sanati pueri permanere presentiam in testimonium.

xiii. *De muliere miro modo inflata et sanata.*

MIRIS admiranda succedunt, que si uniuersa que gesta sunt prout gesta sunt exequar timeo ne uel fastidio lectorem prolixitas afficiat, uel moderationis limitem liber excedat. Ea propter numerositatis declinans siluam, in planiciem prodeo, flosculos perpaucos excerpo, quibus mentis uestre demulceatur oculus, et ad suscipiendum inuitetur affectus. Igitur mulier erat de Brandeneia Wimarc nomine que regis Stephani temporibus quando dies mali fuerant, pro uiro suo a predonibus comprehenso apud Geinnesburc data est obses. Loco igitur uiri sub carceris ergastulo posita,

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grace of divine power, how pitiful is the kindness of the merciful martyr William! The boy being brought back, as at first, so now was restored to health, and the mighty works of God were glorified in him. Wherefore the father took wise counsel and allowed his son to abide many days, to attend, with such service as a boy could render, upon the boy-martyr. For he divined from what had happened that the holy boy and martyr wished that the boy whom he had healed should remain for a testimony and proof of his eminent power.

xiii. *Of the cure of a woman who was wonderfully swollen.*

One wonder follows another: and were I to record them all as they happened, I fear that my prolixity would tire the reader, or my book grow beyond all limits. So I avoid the thick forest and come forth into the plain and pluck a very few blossoms to soothe the eye of your mind and invite your affections to receive them.

There was, then, a woman of Brandney (Bardney?) called Wimarc, who in the time of king Stephen, when the days were evil, was given as a hostage at Gainsborough for her husband who had been taken by pirates. In his stead she was committed to prison with three other

cum tribus aliis mulieribus et uiro uno carcerali diu permansit in custodia. Qui cum pariter algores, inediam, fetores, buffonum incursiones multa cum molestia diutius sustinuissent, de custodis sui nece unanimi consensu tractare ceperunt, tanquam in eius morte ipsorum liberatio consisteret, et in uita periculum. Quoniam igitur idem carceris magister et custos cum eis potare solitus erat, quotiens illis ceruisie potus inferebatur, buffonum ueneno, quorum ut premisimus habundabant copia, sibi de more illatum potum infitiunt eique ad potandum inuitato, cifum pariter et mortem porrigunt. Verum ille siue dei nutu conseruandus siue aliqua tunc suspicione permotus, quod sibi porrexerant ipsis pregustandum indixit. Ad hec illi fraude quasi iam intercepta, erubuere confusi, expalluere perterriti, dirriguere stupefacti. Hoc uiso custos ea indicia concepte malitie percepit fore presagium, dum in deprehensis tam patens confusionis cernit argumentum. In ipsos itaque proprie flagicium malitie retorsit, omnesque una eundem potum exhaurire coegit. Ad quod uellent nollent compulsi actores mortis fiunt proprie qui machinatores fuerant aliene. Nec mora, serpente per singulorum singulos artus ueneno, omnes pariter miro ac miserabili modo in tantum intumuerunt ut si illos cerneres, cutem

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women and one man, and there she remained for long. These people, after long enduring miserably cold, hunger, stench, and attacks of toads, began to plan in concert the death of their gaoler, believing that were he dead they would be free, while, as long as he lived, they were in danger. And, inasmuch as the keeper of the prison, who was the gaoler, was accustomed to drink with them when their beer was brought to them, they took a toad (of which, as I said, there were many in the prison) and mixed its poison with the drink when it was brought as usual, and invited the gaoler to drink, handing him at one moment the cup and death. But he, whether because God's providence would preserve him, or because he had some touch of suspicion, bade them first taste what they had offered him. Whereat, their craft being discovered, they grew red with confusion, and pale with fear and stiff with terror. The gaoler at the sight perceived that these signs pointed to some wicked intention, and turning the tables upon them forced them all to drink the draught. Compelled whether they would or no to do this, they became compassers of their own death, after contriving the death of another. Immediately the venom crept through the limbs of each, and all of them swelled up in so wonderful and horrid a manner that any man who saw them would be convinced that their

statim rumpere non dubitares. Quid plura? Virus discurrens uniuersa occupat, quo preualente, sub mortis uestibulo uita periclitatur. Moriuntur ceteri: Wimarck superstes permanet. Efferuntur itaque illi quia mortui, emittitur et illa quoniam creditur et ipsa iam moritura. Vita siquidem illi reseruatur, siue quia minus ceteris hauserat, siue quia diuina eam clementia saluandam disponebat. Felix utique, quia mortem imminentem euasit, sed in hoc misera, quia tumorem prodigialem septennio non amisit. Membris quippe uniuersis ultra quam credi possit sanie tumentibus non hominis in illa denotares effigiem, sed noui alicuius monstri figuram prodigialem. Vnde et corpus illud monstruosum horrendum dabat intuentibus spectaculum. Quod reuera si cerneres, cutem tam ualide tensam non rumpi mirareris. In quibus posita angustiis misera mulier, dum tanti tumoris uitium perseuerare cerneret, ad medicos se contulit, in quibus quicquid habere poterat expendit. Medicorum uero consulens industriam, laborem perdidit et impensam, sed exinde ad pietatis diuine confugiens asylum salutare meruit inuenire remedium. A medicis enim ubi se destitutam et deceptam conspexit, sanctorum postulanda suffragia eorumque loca peragranda censuit. Quibus per multum tempus peragratis, tandem

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skin must break. What more? The poison saturated them through and through, and their life was brought to the doors of death. The rest died; Wimarck alone survived. The others were buried as dead; she was released as being thought to be at the point to die: but her life was spared, whether because she had taken less of the poison than the rest, or because the mercy of God was decreeing her salvation. In so far as she had escaped death, she was happy, but wretched in that for seven years' space she was not rid of the monstrous swelling. All her limbs were inflated to an incredible extent, so that one would discern in her not so much the figure of a human being as the portentous form of some new monster. Her body consequently presented a hideous appearance to the beholder: and one looking at her would wonder that the skin so forcibly distended did not break. In this wretched plight the poor woman, seeing that the swelling did not subside, repaired to doctors, and spent on them whatever she had. But the labour was lost and the money wasted, though ultimately she was accounted worthy to find healing, when she betook herself to the refuge of the divine pity. For when she perceived that she had been mocked and left destitute by the doctors, she thought she must consult the saints and visit their shrines. She accordingly visited many, and

Norwicum peruenit ibique aliquanto tempore morari et diuinam sancti martiris Willelmi suffragantibus meritis misericordiam prestolari decreuit. Cumque iam ibi multos exegisset dies, die quadam sollenni dum sollempniter ante sepulcrum beati martiris plurima plebis conuenisset multitudo, et ipsa multitudini interesset, de multitudine prodiens ad sanctum et uenerabile accessit sepulcrum et festinum sanitatis percepit remedium. Mox enim ubi genua flexit breuique fusa oratione sepulcro labia impressit, omnem illam saniem uirulentam pauimento euomuit. Quale autem sit quod euomuerit, quid aliud dicerem nisi quoniam horribile, quin[1] immo et uisu intollerabile fuit? Tantaque illius quantitas erat quanta permaxime capacitatis uas compleri potuisset. Quod et continuo teterrimus ac intollerabilis consecutus est fetor qui et nares assistentium offenderet, eosque loco excedere perurgeret. Qua de re locum sacriste sacrum spurcitia illa purgari fecerunt, herbisque sterni redolentibus. Misera uero mulier ecclesiam confestim exiens, quicquid residui uisceribus infuit totum funditus euomens effudit. Vnde et mirabile illud sub unius hore contigit spatio, ut que antea, uelut premisimus, ultra quam credi possit tumens fuerat, statim effusa sanie adeo gracilis et sospes appareret, ac si nichil unquam tumoris nichilque mali pertulisset. Curata

[1] quid *cod.*

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at length came to Norwich, and there determined to remain for some time and wait for the divine mercy to be procured by the intercession of the merits of the holy martyr William. After she had now spent some days there, on a solemn feast-day, when according to custom a great throng of people had assembled at the blessed martyr's tomb, and she among them, she came forth from the throng and approached the holy and venerable sepulchre, and she obtained a speedy healing. For when she had kneeled down and uttered a short prayer, she pressed her lips on the tomb, and forthwith vomited all that poisonous discharge on the pavement. I can only describe it by saying that it was horrible—nay, unbearable, that there was enough of it to fill a vessel of the largest size, that the bystanders were constrained to leave the place, and the sacrists to cleanse the spot and strew it with fragrant herbs. The poor woman left the church in haste and got rid of all that was left of the poison. The result was that in one hour's time, she who, as I have said, had been swollen to an incredible size, now appeared as slim and healthy as if she had never suffered from a swelling at all. Being thus cured, she gave thanks to God and

igitur, deo ac sancto Willelmo gratias egit, Romam petiit, et que sibi contigerant pape Adriano enarrauit. Exinde sospes remeans multo tempore ad testimonium miraculi in hac luce permansit.

xiv. *De altera gutturnosa curata.*

ERAT et altera mulier Gillilda nomine uxor cuiusdam Turgeri de Middelhale que a multo tempore gutturnosa fuerat, eoque incommodo miserabiliter laborabat. Perurgente uero doloris molestia, et ipsa quoque facies cum mento intumuit. Vexabat eam dira tumoris pariter et doloris acerbitas, cumulabat molestiam continua per biennium morbi diuturnitas. Dolor uehemens et perseuerans erat, iugis inter tormenta gemitus somnum capere non sinebat. Denique post tantos et tam diuturnos cruciatus suorum monitis se glorioso dei martiri Willelmo uouit, factaque in illius nomine et honore candela, guttur et cetera que intumuerant circumdedit. Mira res! Mox ut candela guttur turgescens tetigit, cute pluribus subito locis quasi explosa, sanies ibi diu concreta effluere cepit. Neque fluxus ille cessauit, quousque mulier

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St William, and betook herself to Rome, where she told Pope Adrian[1] what had happened to her; and returning whole she remained long in life to bear witness to the miracle.

xiv. *Of the cure of another woman with a goitre.*

There was also another woman called Gillilda, wife to one Thurgar of Mildenhall, who had long had a goitre which troubled her terribly. It increased upon her, causing her face as well as her chin to swell; the swelling was accompanied also with pains and, to crown all, continued for two years' space. The pain was continuous, and her constant moans prevented her from sleeping. After all this suffering, she finally at the advice of her friends vowed herself to the glorious martyr of God William, and made a candle in his name and in his honour, which she put round the swollen throat and parts affected. Wonderful to say, as soon as the candle touched the place, the skin burst as if by force in several places, and the discharge flowed out, nor stopped until the woman had been freed alike from pain and

[1] Adrian IV, 1154—59 (Nicholas Brakespeare).

ipsa a tumore pariter et dolore liberata fuerit. Curata tandem, cum uiro suo iter arripiens Norwicum uenit, uotum soluit, liberatori suo gratias egit, domumque cum suis gratulabunda remeauit.

XV. *De homine per afflatum colubri turgido et curato.*

ILLVD quoque silentio tegi incongruum duximus quod duobus presbiteris referentibus, Gaufrido scilicet de sancto Christoforo et Radulfo filio quondam Heruei pistoris, aliis quoque nonnullis id ipsum attestantibus profecto cognouimus. Erat siquidem homo quidam de Blitheburc prenominatis cognitus presbiteris ruri manens, diues ac necessariis plenissime habundans. Hic dum mense Augusti post messores suos in agro consisteret, ex improuiso coluber mire et inusitate magnitudinis sibilis sibilans terribilibus erecto in altum capite ex aduerso in ipsum impetum fecit. Re tam subita primum ille attonitus et exterritus, reuocato postmodum animo se ad se collegit, arreptoque de uicina sepe palo, in colubrum surrexit, eumque quantum uires administrabant percussit. Male tactus coluber, arrecta quasi parte sui media, in percutientem impetu feroci fertur. Sed palo repercussus

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swelling: when cured she started with her husband and came to Norwich, where she paid her vow, and thanked her liberator, and so returned home in joy with her friends.

XV. *Of the cure of a man who was swollen by the breath of a viper.*

Another matter I cannot pass over in silence, which I ascertained from the witness of two priests, Gaufrid of St Christopher's and Ralph, son of Hervey the baker, and some others who bore testimony to the fact. There was, then, a man of Blythburgh known to the priests I have named, dwelling in the country and well provided with goods. In the month of August he was standing behind his reapers in the field, when on a sudden a viper of unwonted and wonderful size raised its head with terrible hissings and attacked him. He was at first startled by the suddenness of the thing, but soon regained his wits, and snatching a stake out of a hedge hard by, set upon the beast and struck it as hard as he could. The viper was badly hurt, but erected about half of its body and made another fierce onslaught, but was repulsed a second time with the stake.

repellitur. Vnde ex ore cum sibilo terribili uapore quodam sulphureo in aduersum hostem emisso, ipsum continuo pestifero infecit anelitu. Tum ille maiori deseuiens ira, in eum acrius insurgit, crebrosque congeminans ictus, cum duobus tandem quos ventre habebat gemellis matrem interemit, atque in signum uictorie palo pariter affixit. Exinde ad messores remeans, uix ab eis potuit agnosci, quoniam quasi exsufflato et turgenti toto corpore ac denigrato iam illum contigerat immutari. Nec mora, dolore grauissimo occupantur artus, languescunt singula, periclitari uidebatur uita. Quid ultra? Messorum manibus domum refertur; per triduum sine uoce iacens et sensu mortuus creditur. Tercia demum die quasi reuiuiscens respirauit, languentes oculos aperuit et ad amicos circum assistentes lumina conuertit et ait: Ecce morior, nisi diuina mihi citius subueniat misericordia. Nunc ergo gloriosi martiris Willelmi me trado patrociniis, cuius utique meritis me sanari posse credo et confido. Itaque quamtotius corpus meum in longum et transuersum filo mensuretur, ad cuius longitudinem in illius nomine fiat candela, quam sospitate reddita pedes ipse ad ipsum deferam. His dictis, pro uelle disponentis confestim fiunt omnia. Mira dictu, sed in

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It then, hissing, sent forth from its mouth a fearful sulphurous vapour against its foe, and infected him on the instant with its pestiferous breath. He attacked it with increased rage, showered blows upon it, and succeeded in killing both the parent snake and also two young ones with which it was big; and then put them all on the stake in token of his victory. He then returned to the reapers; but they could scarcely recognise him, for his aspect was already beginning to change, and his whole body to puff, swell, and grow black. In a moment severe pains attacked his limbs, and he was seized with weakness, and his life seemed in jeopardy. To be short, he was carried home by the reapers, and lay for three days without voice or consciousness, and was thought to be dead. On the third day he seemed to revive and breathed again; opening his languid eyes, he turned them to the friends at his side, and said: "Behold, I die, unless God's mercy succour me speedily. Now therefore I commit myself to the protection of the glorious martyr William, by whose merits I firmly believe I can be healed. Measure, then, the length and breadth of my body in all haste with a thread, and let a candle be made of that length, and if I recover I will take it myself to him on foot." His orders were carried out: the event was wonderful

re uera admiranda uelocitas. Sub ipsius enim temporis articulo quo ipse scilicet mensurari et candela fieri cepit, uniuersus tumor penitus exinanitus euanuit, atque, ut magis admireris, ita factum est ut nec minimum tumoris in eo uestigium appareret, ac si nichil antea incommodi pertulisset. Quo tam ueloci diuine pietatis exhilaratus beneficio, surgens, ad gloriosum liberatorem suum martirem Willelmum uenire properauit, ueniens uoti propositum persoluit, quo soluto ad propria letus repedauit.

xvi. *De uirgine cuius mire curata est mamilla.*

EODEM quoque tempore uirgo quedam Matildis nomine de Suathefelt cuius pater Rathe uocabatur, intollerabili dextere mamille dolore afficiebatur ac tumore. Quippe ad cumulum molestie nouem foraminibus ex mamilla sanies usquequaque profluebat plurima. Tanto illa per diuturnum tempus detenta incommodo, multaque in medicis sibi nichil proficientibus facta expensa, humane renuntians ad diuinam se contulit medicinam. Assumens itaque portionem cere non modicam, eam sancto Willelmo uouit, ex qua et male habentem circumdedit mamillam. Quo facto, res uera contigit ualde stupenda. Velut enim patris eius relatu didicimus, mox ubi mamille subtracta est cera, dolore

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and surprising in quickness. For at the very instant when he began to be measured, and the candle to be made, the whole of the swelling subsided and disappeared and, what is more wonderful, it came to pass that not the least trace of it remained,—just as if he had not suffered at all from it. Gladdened by the swift working of the divine pity, he rose and hastened to his glorious liberator, William the martyr, and paid his vow: which done he returned home in joy.

xvi. *Of a maid whose breast was wonderfully healed.*

At the same time also there was a maid called Matilda, of Swafield[1], whose father was named Rathe; she suffered from an intolerable swelling and pain in her right breast accompanied with a discharge from nine openings. She was long afflicted, and spent much on physicians to no purpose: so in the end she abandoned man's help and sought God's healing. She took a large piece of wax, vowed it to St William and applied it to her breast. The result was amazing. Her father has told me, that as soon as the wax was withdrawn

[1] A village two miles north of North Walsham.

sedato quies successit, tumor omnis subsedit, arescentibusque paulatim foraminibus sanies exundans imminui cepit. Cuius parentes tam festino filie congratulantes beneficio, eam statim Norwicum ad sanctum deduxerunt Willelmum. Quo illa adueniens oratione fusa gratias egit, ceram optulit, mamillamque extrahens nudam ea intentione applicuit sepulchro, ut scilicet quia foraminibus adhuc aliquantulum effluentibus plurimum timebat, inde quoque uelut de reliquo beati martiris ope secura redderetur. Presertim ad id agendum spes inuitauerat, fides edocuerat; unde et quod tanto mentis affectu sperauit et credidit, confestim optinere promeruit. Vbi enim attigit lapidem mamilla, sub ipsa utique hora desiccata et clausa paruerunt mamille foramina. Sospitate igitur ad uotum plene suscepta, domum cum suis gaudens regreditur.

xvii. *De saluatis in mari et de tempestate sedata.*

CELI, maris, ac terre moderator dominus quemadmodum egregie excellentie martyrem Willelmum in celis precipue dignitatis laureatum prerogatiua, multimodis miraculorum signis in terra glorificauit, ita eundem ipsum et in mari magnificare uoluit. Quibusdam namque de prouincia Norfulchensi pariter cum presbitero quodam de Eilesham Radulfo nomine, marino ad ulteri-

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from being applied, the pain ceased and rest ensued: the swelling subsided and the discharge slackened. Overjoyed at the speedy relief, her parents at once took her to Norwich to St William. She came, prayed, gave thanks, offered the wax, bared her breast and applied it to the tomb, in order to be relieved by the blessed martyr's help from what still remained of her disorder. Hope invited her, faith instructed her in the experiment, and she consequently merited to obtain what she hoped and believed. The cure was completed on the instant, and having received to the full her health in answer to her vow, she went gladly home with her parents.

xvii. *Of certain saved at sea and a storm stilled.*

The Lord, who is governor of heaven, sea, and earth, as He has glorified the martyr William, of eminent excellence, crowned in the heavens with a prerogative of special worth, by many miracles on the land, has also willed to exalt him upon the sea. For when certain of the county of Norfolk, together with a priest of Aylsham named Ralph, had voyaged by sea to the further parts of England, and,

ores Anglie partes nauigio profectis suoque ibi peracto negotio naui qua uenerant ad propria reuertentibus, sub medio cursu seuissima subito exorta est tempestas. Inualescente uentorum rabie laborans uelum scinditur, antenne pariter ac rudentes rumpuntur, Oceani uiolentiam fragilis cimba uix sustinet, uicta nautarum cedunt ministeria. Solis lumen nox atra intercipit, mors imminens exsangues facit. Clamor uniuersalis extollitur, ad celum suspiria funduntur. Illud dulcifluum beati martiris Willelmi nomen centies ac milies replicatur, eiusque in angustia presens adesse petitur patrocinium. Oratione non uiribus iam nauigium ferebatur, et procellis seuientibus orationis causa sanctique Willelmi merita opponuntur. Vota illi fiunt, ut scilicet si eius conseruentur ope, pro tanti recompensatione beneficii ei ab eis tributaria quotannis solueretur recognitio. Propiciatur ad hec diuina pietas, adest et continuo aduocati martiris uirtus euidens, qui etsi corporali presentia, uirtute tamen non deerat. Quieuit enim uentorum rabies, pelagi uiolentia sedatur, et tranquillitas serena subsequitur. Nautarum reuocantur animi, queque rupta fuerant reficiuntur. Venti contrarii in itineris conuertuntur ministeria, nauigium famulatrix prosequitur unda. Decursis breui immensis pelagi spaciis, omnes pariter *litoris optati grata potiuntur arena.*

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having ended their business there, were returning home in the ship in which they had come, about the middle of their course a sudden and violent storm arose. The rage of the wind increased, the labouring sail was rent, the yards and shrouds broken, and the frail craft scarce bore the brunt of ocean, while all the sailors' exertions were vain. Obscurest night involved the sky, and the near prospect of death drove the blood from all faces. An universal cry went up, sighs were poured to heaven, the dear name of the blessed martyr William was repeated a hundred, nay, a thousand times, and his present aid sought in their strait. The ship only floated by their prayers, not by its own strength: the pleading of prayer and St William's merits were set against the raging storm. Vows were made to him, that if they were saved by his help they would yearly pay a tribute in acknowledgment of the boon. The divine pity was propitious and the power of the martyr-advocate at once shown forth; for, if absent in body, he was yet present in might. For the rage of the winds and the violence of the ocean abated, and a great calm followed. The sailors recovered their courage, and repaired damages. The contrary winds turned to speed their course, and the submissive waves followed the vessel. In a short time they flew over the broad sea, and all attained

Egressique incolumes ac leti, mox Norwicum ad beatum martirem Willelmum cum uotis et oblationibus festinant, cuius suffragiis in suppremo mortis discrimine liberati fuerant.

xviii. *De duobus sibi* (sic) *ferro constrictis ac liberatis.*

SVB eisdem ferme diebus Godwinus quidam cognomine Creme de Wimundeham pariter cum fratre suo Robertum quendam de Charletune quadecumque causa ceperant, atque sub arcta positum custodia, compedibus ferreis astrinxerant. Compedes quoque cathena tenebantur ferrea, posti firmissime obfirmata. Diebus quippe ac noctibus manibus post tergum ligatis miser ille tanquam posti affixus iacebat, binique ac bini nocturnis circa eum horis summa cum diligentia uigiles excubabant. Accusabatur siquidem multiplicis noxe quasi reus, sed, ut postmodum didicimus, super his immunis erat et innoxius. Cum igitur sub tam crudeli et immerita diebus aliquot teneretur angaria, penali quoque famis ac sitis angustia defecisset, in mentem forte uenit beati Willelmi martiris postulare suffragia quibus a presentis angarie liberaretur pena. Igitur ea die tota et usque ad noctis medium

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the desired shore; where disembarking in joy and safety, they soon repaired to Norwich to the blessed martyr William with offerings, since by his prayers they had been freed from imminent peril of death.

xviii. *Of two that were locked in iron fetters, and were freed.*

About the same time one Godwin, surnamed Creme, of Wymondham, with his brother had taken prisoner for some reason or other one Robert of Charleton, and committing him to strict ward, had fastened him in iron bilboes. The bilboes were attached to an iron chain which was firmly fixed into a post: and day and night with his hands bound behind him, the miserable man had to lie as it were tied to the post, while guards by two and two kept watch over him most carefully throughout the night. He was accused of a number of crimes, of which, as I afterwards learned, he was entirely guiltless. After being kept for some days in this painful and undeserved strait, and being quite worn out with the torments of hunger and thirst, it happened to come into his head to invoke the prayers of the blessed martyr William, that he might thereby be freed from his present punishment and torment. For that whole

in huiusmodi persistens precibus uniuersisque tunc in domo tam tedio quam sompno deuictis, et ipse quoque dormitare cepit; dormitanti idem martir quem inuocauerat Willelmus in uisu astitit. Quo compedes ac cetera pertractante uincula, sera constricta dissoluitur, repagula ferrata dissiliunt. Porro pietatis diuine uirtus reserat quod crudelitatis humane malitia coartarat. Quibus uisis, immo et realiter gestis, is qui ea gerebat subinferre uidebatur: Surge, frater, surge uelociter. Ego quippe sum ille cuius opem postulasti, quem pre ceteris tibi patronum elegisti. Ecce iam liber es, abscedere festina, tollensque quibus tenebaris compedes, mihi Norwicum afferre ne pigriteris. Ad hec expergefactus ille secumque uisionem retractans, se reuera solutum sentit, unde et de fuga statim deliberauit. Vbi uero uniuersos dormire comperit, iam securior effectus surgit, compedes tollit, hostioque sine sonitu aperto, quamtotius exilit. Versus Norwicum itinere arrepto, illuc sub ipso diluculo peruenit, apertisque episcopalis ecclesie ianuis, intrauit et ad beati Willelmi sepulcrum profugit. Tenens autem quibus tentus fuerat compedes, in conspectu plurimorum liberatori suo eas in liberationis sue obtulit

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day, then, and until midnight, he persisted in these prayers, and when all in the house were overcome with fatigue and sleep, and he himself too had begun to doze, that same martyr William on whom he had called stood by him in a vision. He passed his hand over the bilboes and the other fetters; the tightened lock was loosed, the iron bolts flew apart, for the might of divine pity unlocked what man's cruelty had fastened. After this phenomenon, or rather, reality, he who was doing the deed seemed to speak and say, "Rise, brother, rise quickly, I am he whose aid thou didst ask, whom thou hast chosen before others to be thy patron. Lo, thou art free! haste to depart, take the fetters in which thou wast bound, and delay not to bring them to me at Norwich." The man awoke and considered the vision, found he was indeed free, and straightway meditated flight. Perceiving that all were asleep, he gathered courage, rose, picked up the fetters and, opening the door noiselessly, crept out as quick as might be. He shaped his course for Norwich, and arrived there at dawn: when the doors of the cathedral church were opened, he went in and fled to the tomb of the blessed William. Holding the fetters in which he had been locked in his hand, he offered them in the sight of many to his liberator in token of his

signum. Interrogatus uero, totius rei geste seriem querentibus explicuit, et cum securitas oblata est, securus abscessit.

De altero.

[A]LIQVANTO postmodum interiecto temporis interuallo, quidam Hugo quem dominus suus Simon scilicet de Nodariis compedibus astrinxerat multimodaque attrectauerat pena, beati Willelmi meritis consimili liberatus est modo. Solutus autem Norwicum uenit, ferreosque ferens quibus innexus fuerat nexus, liberatoris sui sepulchro apposuit, ibique in facti signum et memoriam dimisit.

xix. *De niso Alberti Gressle mire curato.*

[I]NTER tot et tantas[1] egregias miraculorum uirtutes, uirtus nonnunquam diuina in rebus etiam minimis preminere solet permaxima. Erat nempe Roberto Gresle illustri siquidem uiro filius Albertus, qui puer nisum habebat, quem nimis affec-

[1] tantam *cod.*

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release: when asked, he told the questioners the whole course of the story, and when a safe opportunity offered, went away secure.

Of a second.

After some considerable interval had elapsed, a certain Hugh, whom his lord, Simon Des Noyers[1], had bound in fetters and maltreated in many ways, was similarly freed by the merits of the blessed William: and when freed came to Norwich, bringing the iron bands in which he had been set, laid them at the tomb of his liberator, and there left them for a token and memorial of the fact.

xix. *Of the wonderful cure of the falcon of Albert Gresley.*

Among so many eminent and mighty miracles, the power of God is sometimes apt to show itself forth greatly in the smallest things. Now Robert Gresley[2], a nobleman, had a son Albert, who, when a lad, possessed a falcon of which he was exceedingly fond: and one

[1] See p. ~~97~~ 98

[2] A branch of this family (which seems to have come from the North of England) held lands at Hoveton in Norfolk. An Albert de Gresley (or Grelley) appears as witness to a charter of Henry II. in 1156 (see Eyton's *Itinerary*). They became extinct at the death of Thomas de Gresley in 1347 (see Cornthope's *Complete Peerage*.)

tuose semper dilexerat. Quadam autem die auem illam contigit ad mortem infirmari, de cuius infortunio puer adeo condoluit ac si de suo. Cumque iam auis rem gerere uideretur suppremam, puer ad beati pueri et martiris Willelmi se contulit suffragia orans, ut ipso propitiante niso morienti salus restitueretur et uita. Votum quoque uouit, quod sibi dilectam auem si restitueret ad eum singulis annis cum oblationis recognitione ueniret. Pater inter hec ceterique qui aderant milites puero tanquam puerilia deposcenti illudebant, tum qui proculdubio auem statim morituram nouerant, tum quoniam pro huiusmodi ludicris sanctos uel exorare uel illis uota uouere ridiculum fore estimabant. Factum est autem, orante cum lacrimis ac gemitibus puero, contra uniuersorum opinionem respirauit auis, breuique post interuallo sospes apparuit et incolumis. Quo uiso, admirati nimium uniuersi, dominum in sanctis suis reuera mirificum glorificant, sanctumque dei martirem Willelmum rebus etiam minimis compati et curam exhibere admirantur et laudant. Porro puerum postea cum patre Norwicum uoti soluendi gratia uenire uidimus, ipsorumque relatu rem ipsam prout gesta fuerat cognouimus. Que nos audientes,

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day it so happened that this bird fell sick, and the boy was as grieved for its mishap as if it had been his own. The bird seemed to be *in extremis*, and the boy betook himself to the intercession of the blessed boy and martyr William, praying that by his kindness the dying falcon might be restored to health and life: he vowed, moreover, that if the saint would restore him his beloved bird, he would come to him every year with an offering in acknowledgment. His father, meanwhile, and the other knights who were present, laughed at the boy as making a childish request, partly because they were sure that the bird would die directly, and partly because they deemed it ridiculous to pray to the saints or make vows to them for such trivial matters. Yet it came to pass that, as the boy prayed with tears and sobs, contrary to the expectation of every one, the bird breathed again, and in a short space appeared well and sound. All marvelled at the sight and glorified the Lord as being truly wonderful in His holy ones: and they were alike surprised and grateful to the holy martyr of God William for sympathising in and caring for even the smallest matters. Now after this I saw the boy come with his father to Norwich to pay his vow, and ascertained from them the facts as they happened. And when I had heard the story, I blessed

gloriosum et tam pium dei martirem, immo et in martire dominum qui cunctos coronat martires, glorificando benediximus et benedicentes glorificamus, qui uniuersorum conditor ac moderator licet magnus sit in magnis, mirabilia tamen quandoque operari non dedignatur in minimis.

Explicit liber sextus.

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in glorifying and glorified in blessing the glorious and merciful martyr of God, or rather, in His martyr the Lord who crowns all martyrs, Who, being Creator and Governor of all things, although He is great in great things, yet does not disdain at times to work in the smallest matters.

HERE ENDETH THE SIXTH BOOK.

LIBER SEPTIMVS.

Incipiunt capitula libri septimi.

i. <D>e Reimberto dapifero abbatis de Bello et eius molendinario ab egritudine sua curatis.
ii. De iuuene paralitico curato.
iii. <D>e clerico furibundo sanitati reddito.
iv. <D>e muliere languida a languore diuturno curata.
v. De puerulo ad solum patris uotum curato.
vi. <De>muliere mire bis cancri curata incommodo.
vii. De mirabili in cera particulata inditio.
viii. <D>e conflua multitudine languentium curatorum.
ix. De puero a natiuitate ceco, surdo, muto, ac toto corpore imbecilli, articulo temporis curato.
x. <D>e Roberti contracti cura.
xi. De altero toto corpore imbecilli sanato.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

i. Of Reimbert, seneschal to the abbot of Battle, and his miller, who were healed of their diseases.
ii. Of a youth with the palsy cured.
iii. Of a mad clerk restored to sanity.
iv. Of a sick woman cured of a longstanding illness.
v. Of a little boy cured by the mere vow of his father.
vi. Of a woman twice wonderfully cured of a cancer.
vii. Of the wonderful sign in the dividing of the wax.
viii. Of a number of ailing persons cured.
ix. Of a boy blind from birth, deaf, dumb, and weak in body, cured in a moment.
x. Of the cure of the deformed Robert.
xi. Of a second who had lost the use of his limbs, and was cured.

xii. <I>tem de muliere contracta atque erecta.
xiii. De quodam maledico per uisum mire castigato.

Incipit prologus in librum septimum.

⟨A⟩LIQVANTA temporis intercurrente mora cum, beatissimi martiris uirtutem a miraculorum signis iam cessasse existimans, arma scriptoria deposuissem multoque scribendi labore defatigatus quietis optate modicum degustarem, forte laboris iterati laberintum incurri. Subito etenim, inopinantibus nobis, anno ab incarnatione domini M°. C°. LV°. quasi renouata uirtus sancti martiris ampliori quam prius signorum effulsit frequentia. Vnde resumens calamum, opus libens aggredior intermissum. Verum quia hinc tanta miraculorum concurrit multiplicitas, inde

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xii. Also of a deformed woman made upright.
xiii. Of a blasphemer wonderfully chastised in a vision.

[*The list of Chapters ends here: but in the text the following are added, for which I supply the titles:*

xiv. Of a maid cured of gout.
xv. Of a deformed girl cured.
xvi. Of another deformed girl, and two boys.
xvii. Of certain saved at sea.
xviii. Of a sorcerer repulsed from the altar; and of the wonderful experiences of a young lady in Worcestershire.
xix. Of the extraordinary cure and wonderful journey of Gaufrid of Canterbury.]

HERE BEGINNETH THE PROLOGUE TO THE SEVENTH BOOK.

A considerable interval of time had elapsed, and I began to think that the power of the most blessed martyr had ceased from working signs and wonders; so that I laid aside my writer's weapons, and worn out by literary toil was beginning to taste a measure of the rest I longed for, when it happened that I was plunged once more into the labyrinth of labour. For quite suddenly, when we were least expecting it, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1155, the power of the holy martyr seemed to renew itself, and shone forth with a greater multitude of signs than before. I therefore take up my pen once more, and gladly resume the work I had laid aside. But since on the one hand there is a great press of miracles, and on the other the demands of my own private

familiarium negotiorum urget necessitas, in meditullio expositus necesse habeo ea sic exequi, ut ista non negligam, et ita me undique expediam, ut neque uel hec infecta uel illa pretermittam illibata. Que autem beatissimi martiris siue nos uidere siue a credibilibus uiris audire contigit miracula, ex consulto ita sub breuitate transcurrere curauimus, ut et ea scire uolens cognosceret, et multiplicitas concurrens non fastidiret. Si quid uero interdum effusius explanari contigerit, quia scilicet paucis explicari non possit, moderationis tamen non excedemus regulam, ne promissi defraudati incurrisse uideamur culpam.

Explicit prologus. Incipit liber septimus.

i. *De Reimberto dapifero abbatis de Bello.*

ERAT igitur in prouintia Hastingensi miles quidam Reimbertus nomine, dapifer abbatis sancti Martini de Bello. Hic quandoque permaxime ualetudinis incurrens incommodum, perurgente molestia loquelam pariter perdidit et uisum. Vbi uero perseuerante incommodo nullo leuigaretur medicamine, sed in dies doloris ac morbi succresceret uehementia, monitis suorum diuine

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duties are urgent, I, standing in the midst, am forced to set the former forth in such wise as not to neglect the latter, and so manage matters as neither to leave the duties undone nor the miracles untold. Now, those signs of the most blessed martyr which I have either happened to witness myself, or to hear from men worthy of credit, I have purposely sketched quite shortly, in order that those interested might be informed of them, and yet not be tired by their number. Should it happen that I am forced sometimes to relate a matter at somewhat greater length, because it cannot be set forth shortly, I will still not overstep the bounds of moderation, lest I seem to incur the blame of breaking a promise.

HERE ENDETH THE PROLOGUE, AND BEGINNETH THE SEVENTH BOOK.

1155

i. *Of Reimbert, seneschal to the abbot of Battle.*

There was then in the province of Hastings a knight named Reimbert, seneschal to the abbot of St Martin of Battle. He had at some time fallen into a serious illness, which increasing deprived him alike of speech and sight. Finding no remedy, but only a daily aggravation of his disease, he betook himself to the refuge of the

miserationis sese contulit asýlo. Cum etenim amicis sibi assistentibus sub tanto periclitaretur discrimine, recordatione imaginaria beatissimum martirem Willelmum, cuius sepulcrum Norwici quandoque uiderat, ante mentis oculos ponens cordis lingua qua potuit eius sibi opem inuocauit. Nec mora, pia mentis contritio celos pulsans, diuine pietatis remedium promeruit, atque sub ipso temporis articulo, salutem amissam recuperauit. Idem ipse paucis postmodum diebus molendinarium suum ad mortem usque egrotantem uisitans et qualiter beati Willelmi curatus fuerit suffragiis enarrans, exemplo suo ad sospitatis spem egrotantis inuitauit fidem. Fidelibus ille monitis permonitus, mox ut coram deo beato martiri orationem effudit et uotum, festinum suscepit sanitatis remedium. Hec eiusdem Reimberti relatu cognouimus, dum Norwicum postea ad beatum martirem exorandum ueniret, ac pro se suoque molendinario duplices referret gratias.

ii. *De paralitico curato.*

ALIO quoque tempore iuuenis quidam Schet nomine in uilla que Hadescho dicitur de patre Eilmero natus, sed apud Gernemutam piscatorii gratia questus aliquamdiu commorans, paralitico

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divine mercy, at the advice of his friends. For when he was in this state, and his friends by him, he recalled in imagination the most blessed martyr William, whose tomb he had once seen at Norwich, and, setting him before his mind's eye, he invited his help with the tongue of his heart. The pious contrition of his mind knocked at heaven's gate and obtained the remedy of God's pity; and on the instant he regained his lost health.

A few days later he visited his miller, who was sick unto death, and told him how he had been cured by the intercession of St William, and by his own example encouraged the sick man's faith to hope for healing. Prevailed upon by this faithful advice, he at once poured out before God prayers and vows to the blessed martyr and received speedy recovery. This I heard from the lips of Reimbert himself, when he afterwards came to Norwich to pray to the blessed martyr, and render thanks alike for himself and for his miller.

ii. *Of a paralytic cured.*

At another time a youth called Schet born of one Eilmer in the town called Haddiscoe, but who lived at Yarmouth for purposes of fish-

per multos dies laborabat incommodo. Qui denique dum Norwicum ad beati Willelmi martiris sepulcrum fuisset adductus, ipsa die qua uenerat, ibi meritis sacri martiris soluto lingue uinculo sermo ei redditur, membris inualidis salus restituitur, sanusque effectus, domum se incolumem regredi letatur.

iii. *De clerico furibundo sanato.*

VIDIMVS et quendam Robertum clericum, Willelmi filium de Crachesfort, cerebri turbati laborantem insania, plurimorum manibus ad beati martiris sepulcrum adduci. Dumque ibidem cum suis nocturnam satis placide exegisset uigiliam, sub aurora sompno pressus dormire cepit, et circa horam terciam expergefactus, tam capitis insaniam quam membrorum dolorem sedatum persensit. Gratulantibus ergo suis atque pro salute illius sancto martiri gratias agentibus, super tanto et tam subito miraculo plebs assistens exultat, quoniam sanum regredi conspicit, qui insanus aduenerat.

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ing, was long afflicted with palsy. He was finally brought to Norwich to the tomb of St William the martyr, and on that same day, by the merits of the sacred martyr, the string of his tongue was loosed, speech restored to him, and health to his strengthless limbs: so being made whole, he rejoiced and returned home well.

iii. *Of a mad clerk healed.*

I also saw one Robert, a clerk, son of William de Crachesford[1], who was troubled in his wits, and mad, being brought to the tomb of the blessed martyr by a number of people. After spending the night there with his friends quietly enough, at dawn he was overcome with sleep and, waking about the third hour, felt that his madness and the pain in his limbs were alike appeased. His friends were rejoiced and rendered thanks to the holy martyr for his recovery, and the people present also exulted at so great and sudden a miracle, for they saw him go away sane, who had come mad.

[1] There was a family of this name who lived at Tuttington in the Hundred of South Erpingham early in the 13th century. Blomefield, VI. 349. A century later they appear as considerable people in Norwich.

iv. *De muliere languida curata a diuturno languore.*

EISDEM diebus quedam Leua, soror Rogeri de Scales, toto corpore male habens, et dolore membrorum diuturno laborans, ad sepulcrum beati martiris uenit ibique salutem integram recuperauit.

v. *De puero ad patris uotum curato.*

QVIDAM quoque Willelmus de Tornedis uilla episcopali paruulum filium languore languentem diuturno et iam morti proximum habuit, pro cuius salute sancto martiri Willelmo uotum faciens, eiusdem mox suffragiis filio remedium optinuit sanitatis.

vi. *De muliere bis a cancri incommodo curata.*

IN eadem quoque uilla episcopali mulier erat, cuius a memoria nomen excidit, que grauiter in mamilla paciebatur. Ex ea quippe plurima profluebat sanies, eiusque iam papillam quod cancrum nominant consumpserat incommodum. Cumque huiusmodi diutius laboraret ualitudine, neque ulla illi subueniretur ope medicorum, de humana iam diffidens, ad diuinam denique se

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iv. *Of a sick woman cured of a longstanding illness.*

In these same days, one Leva, sister of Roger de Scales, who was afflicted in all her body and suffered constant pain, came to the tomb of the blessed martyr and there recovered her strength entirely.

v. *Of a boy cured by his father's vow.*

One William also of Thornage[1], a vill of the Bishop's, had a little son who was long ill and nearly dead, for whose recovery he made a vow to the holy martyr William, and by his intercession obtained the remedy of healing for his son.

vi *Of a woman twice cured of a cancer.*

In the same vill of the Bishop's was a woman whose name I have forgotten, who suffered terribly in her breast. It discharged a great deal, and was afflicted with a cancer. She was long troubled with it, and got no aid from physicians; so, despairing of man's help, she betook

[1] A considerable village on the north coast of Norfolk, formerly a seaport. It was a vill of the Bishop's before the Conquest, and is so still.

contulit medicinam. Arrepta itaque cera et ad ignem mollificata, in nomine sancti martiris Willelmi mamillam male habentem circumdedit, eamque aliquamdiu sic dimittens, memorato martiri orationem cum lacrimis et uota effudit. Mira res! Confestim nempe mitigato dolore, et serpentis morbi prurigo exaruit, et saniei fluor cessauit. Cumque memoratam ceram prout uouerat sancto Willelmo Norwicum presentare de die in diem differret, iterum mamillam renouatus morbus inuasit, eamque grauiori quam antea dolore afflixit. Ex quo conicimus beatum martirem uotifragii reatum iterata uoluisse piari pena, et negligentem ad soluendum uotum mulierem iterati doloris reuocari molestia. Mulier itaque, recognita infidelitatis sue culpa, ceram resumpsit, mamillam circumdedit, et in breui sanitatem amissam recuperauit. Porro in posterum de cetero sibi precauens Norwicum properauit, ceramque ad sancti martiris sepulcrum offerens, uotum persoluit domumque gratulabunda regressa est.

vii. *De miro in cera inditio.*

ALTERA mulier de Belahhe die quadam ceram quam habuit deuotionis instinctu particulatim diuisit. Partium uero

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herself to God's. She took wax, accordingly, softened it at the fire, and in the name of the holy martyr William applied it to her breast, and let it remain there for some time, praying and making vows with tears to the aforesaid martyr. Wonderful to say, the pain abated at once, and the creeping disease ceased to irritate her, while the discharge also was stayed. But as from day to day she put off presenting the wax I have mentioned to St William at Norwich in accordance with her vow, the disease again attacked her breast more violently than before. Hence I conjecture that the blessed martyr was minded that her sin in breaking her vow should be expiated by severe punishment, and that she should be reminded to pay her vow by the trouble of a second attack of her disease. She, then, recognising her fault, took the wax and once more applied it to her breast, and in a short while recovered her lost health. She was more careful for the future, and made haste to go to Norwich, where she offered the wax at the tomb of the holy martyr, paid her vow and returned home in joy.

vii. *Of the wondrous sign in the wax.*

Another woman of Belaugh one day cut up a quantity of wax which she had, for purposes of devotion, and vowed to offer the

maiorem sancte Trinitati et de minoribus duabus, sancto Willelmo alteram, et alteram sancte Fidi se uouit oblaturam. Interim autem, dum temporis illuc eundi succederet oportunitas, tres illas archa cere reposuit particulas. Cum ergo sancte Fidis aduenit festum, quoniam ipsas tunc ipsa locis prefatis offerre proposuerat, de minoribus una, quam sancte Fidis credebat, ut inde candelam efficeret assumpta, mox ut illam cultello incidere incepit, quasi sanguineis scaturientibus guttis cruentata paruit[1]. Obstupescens nimirum portento, ea deposita, alteram assumpsit, atque ex illa sancte Fidis candelam pro libito effecit. Similiter incontinenti et altera in nomine sancte Trinitatis effecta, audatie ductu in nomine sancti Willelmi presumpsit et de tercia. Sub cuius intentionis proposito, cum cere prius cruentate cultellum liberius imprimeret, nec minima quidem sanguinei ruboris apparuere uestigia. Quo admirata miraculo uniuersis quos nouerat sancti martiris Willelmi magnalia predicabat. Nos quoque, cum hoc ipsum uicinia referente cognouimus, ex ipsius rei euentu quasi augurati sumus, quod alteri offerri sanctus martir noluerit quod sibi uotaliter promissum fuit. Ita itaque uirtus beati martiris maxima preminebat etiam in minimis.

[1] aparuit *cod.*

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larger part to the Holy Trinity, and of the two smaller pieces one to St William and the other to St Faith: but meanwhile, until a fit opportunity should arise of going thither, she laid up the three pieces of wax in a chest. When, then, the feast of St Faith came round, since she had promised to make her offering at the aforementioned places on that day, she took one of the two smaller pieces, thinking that it was the one belonging to St Faith, in order to make a candle out of it. But as soon as she began to cut it with the knife, it appeared to be stained with drops of blood springing from it. Astonished at the portent, she laid it aside and took the other, and out of that made the candle for St Faith, as she intended. In like manner she proceeded to make the second candle in the name of the Holy Trinity, and was emboldened to go on with the third in the name of St William. When with this intent she applied the knife to the wax which had been previously stained with blood, not the least trace of redness or blood appeared in it. She marvelled at the sign, and proclaimed the might of the holy martyr William to all her acquaintance. I too, on ascertaining it from the relation of the neighbours, divined, as I may say, from the facts that the holy martyr would not have that offered to another which had been promised and vowed to himself. And so it appeared that the power of the blessed martyr was preeminent even in the smallest matters.

viii. *De multitudine languentium curato* (sic).

MVLTIS preterea beatissimi martiris Willelmi meritis diuina sepe subuenit misericordia. Ad sepulcrum nempe illius uenire consuerunt febricitantes ibique liberati sunt. Venerunt et nonnulli diuturno uiscerum ac membrorum dolore languentes, sanique ad propria redierunt et incolumes. Vidimus et sepissime illuc uenire claudos, cecos, surdos, ac mutos, aliosque multos multiplici laborantes incommodo, ex quibus plurimos sanitati restitutos cognouimus. Presertim innumeros, tum longinquis positos regionibus, tum locis proximis commanentes, uariis uexatos languoribus, quorum siue familiaris necessitas, siue alia grandis causa prepediebat aduentum, licet absentes meritis sancti martiris Willelmi sospitati plene redditos, et quam plures audiuimus, et nonnullos quandoque uidimus.

ix. *De puero a natiuitate ceco, surdo, muto, toto corpore inbecilli, curato.*

ANNO autem ab incarnatione dominica M°. C°. LVI°. in septimana pentecostes circa sepulcrum gloriosi martiris sui multo crebrius solito diuina uirtus innotuit. Ibi etenim uarii

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viii. *Of a multitude of sick persons cured.* 1155

To many besides did the divine mercy bring aid by the merits of the most blessed martyr St William. For to his tomb men with fever used to come to be freed; some too afflicted for long with pains in the intestines or in the limbs, who returned whole and sound to their homes. I have also very often seen persons come there who were lame, blind, deaf, or dumb, and many others sick of divers diseases, and have known most of them to be cured. Innumerable cases there were, too, of people ill in various ways, either in places most remote, or near by, who were prevented from coming by private affairs or other grave cause, and who, though absent, were completely restored to health by the merits of the holy martyr William. Many of these I heard of, and some I saw at different times.

ix. *Of a boy blind from birth, deaf, dumb, and weak in all his body, who was cured.* 1156

Now in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1156, in Whitsun-week, the power of God was manifested in more instances than usual at the tomb of His glorious martyr. For it then came to pass that very

sexus plurimos uariis languoribus detentos optinere tunc contigit remedia sanitatis. Porro quosdam uitande prolixitatis gratia preterire, et nonnullos, de quibus scilicet certiores sumus, presenti pagine decreuimus interserere.

Igitur mulier quedam de Reppes ad illud medicabile gloriosi martiris sepulcrum filium a natiuitate cecum, surdum, mutum, et toto corpore imbecillem, ac membrorum impotem attulit, atque ipsa die qua uenerat, eundem sanum omnibusque membris incolumem domum gratulabunda reportauit.

x. *De Roberti contracti cura.*

EADEM septimana sancti martiris ante sepulcrum nocte sancte Trinitatis dum monacorum conuentus nocturnis inuigilaret uigiliis, puer quidam ab etate primeua contractus, diuina meritis sancti martiris cooperante gratia apparuit erectus. Hic autem Norwici multis annis commoratus, genibus innixus et manualibus gradiens scabellis, per urbem apud plurimos mendicauerat. Arefactis siquidem neruis, contracto poplite, ac desiccatis tibiis, usus illi negabatur gradiendi. Cui, uelut prelibauimus, uirtus pia martiris remedium contulit sanitatis.

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many of either sex oppressed with divers disorders obtained healing. Of these I have decided to omit some in order to avoid being tedious, and to insert others into the present work, concerning whom I am better informed:

A woman of Repps[1] brought to the healing tomb of the glorious martyr her son who was blind from birth, deaf, dumb, weak in all his body, and deprived of the use of his limbs; and on the day of his arrival took him home again joyfully, whole and sound in all his limbs.

x. *Of the cure of the deformed Robert.*

1156

In the same week, before the tomb of the holy martyr, on the vigil of the Holy Trinity, when the body of monks was keeping the nightly vigil, a boy, who from infancy had been deformed, appeared upright, God's grace having worked along with the merits of the holy martyr. He had lived many years at Norwich, and begged at many houses in the town, kneeling on his knees and getting about by trestles which he held in his hands: for the power of walking was denied him, inasmuch as his sinews were dried up, his knees contracted, and his calves wasted away. On him, as I have said, the merciful power of the martyr conferred healing.

[1] One of two parishes near Cromer, North and South Repps.

xi. *De altero inbecilli sanato.*

VENERAT et per idem tempus quidam Thomas Eboracensis debilis quidem uiribus et toto imbecillis corpore, duobus quos uulgo potentias uocant baculis gressus utcumque dirigens, et imbecilles artus sustentans. Qui ut ad sanctum martirem sanitatis percipiende gratia ueniret, ab Eboraco prout poterat digrediens, et gradiendo modicum proficiens, longinque peregrinationis itinere multos consumpsit dies. Euntem fides sustentabat debilem, spes trahebat inbecillem. His tandem ducibus Norwicum ad sancti martiris sepulcrum uenit, et optate salutis remedium optinuit, ibique in signum sua podia dimisit.

xii. *De muliere contracta erecta.*

VIDIMVS quoque et mulierem pauperculam contractam de Lindeseiensi prouintia oriundam. Ea diebus multis Norwici in domo Chole fabri perhendinauerat, neque quisquam illam nisi contractam se uidisse testabatur. Huic quoque ad beati martiris uenienti sepulchrum, idem martir sanitatis plene contulit remedium.

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xi. *Of a second weak person cured.* 1156.

At the same time there had come one Thomas of York, very weak throughout his body, who guided his steps and supported his feet and frame on two sticks such as are commonly called crutches. With the view of coming to the holy martyr to receive healing he set out from York as best he could and, journeying slowly, spent many days over his long pilgrimage, supported on his way by faith and drawn on by hope. With these for guides he reached Norwich and the tomb of the holy martyr, and obtained there the wished-for healing; in token of which he there left his crutches.

xii. *Of a deformed woman cured.* 1156-68

I also saw a poor deformed woman who came from the province of Lindsey: she had spent many days at Norwich in the house of Chole the smith, and everyone testified that they never had seen her otherwise than doubled up. On her also when she came to the tomb of the blessed martyr, that same martyr conferred the boon of complete healing.

xiii. *De quodam maledico per uisum mire correpto.*

SED neque id silentio supprimendum censeo, quod tum simplices ac beniuolos instruat ad deuotionis ampliationem, tum maledicos premoneat ad prouisionis cautelam, ut et illi in beniuolentie pietatem excrescant, atque isti a deprauandi consuetudine resipiscant. Erat siquidem quidam Galterus, Willelmi decani nostri Norwicensis quandoque famulus, qui fatue uoluntatis instinctu semper in quantum poterat beati Willelmi martiris sanctitati atque miraculis derogabat. Cumque a domino quem dixi suo sepissime commonitus, ut a blasphemie sue proposito uel nonnunquam desisteret, nunquam monentis consilio adquiescere uoluisset, nocte quadam idem martir Willelmus ei dormienti specie terribili apparuit, eumque interrogauit dicens: Cognoscis me frater? Cumque ille cognoscere se dixisset, subiunxit: Et si me cognoscis, cur mihi tantis derogas blasphemiis? Surge iam et sequere me. Confestim ille, uelut sibi per uisum uidebatur, exsurgens, eum usque in siluam consequebatur preuium. Cum uero ad locum quo primum sepultus fuerat peruenisset, stans super spelunce sue marginem ait illi: Scis cuiusne hec spelunca fuerit? Cumque ille illius fuisse

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xiii. *Of a certain blasphemer wonderfully rebuked in a vision.*

I cannot, however, pass over this, which may instruct the simple and well-disposed to increase their devotion, and also warn blasphemers to beware in time; that the former class may grow in piety and affection, and the latter awake to wisdom from their habit of corrupting others.

There was one Walter, sometime a servant of our dean at Norwich, William[1], who, prompted by foolish perversity, would always disparage, as far as he could, the holiness and miracles of blessed William the martyr. And, though he was often warned by his master, whom I mentioned, to desist at least occasionally from his constant blasphemies, he would never pay attention to his advice. One night, as he was sleeping, the same martyr William appeared to him with a terrible aspect, and asked him saying, "Do you know me, brother!" On his acknowledging that he did, the martyr rejoined, "And if you know me, why do you still disparage and blaspheme me? Rise at once and follow me." Hastily rising, as he dreamed, he followed, and was led to a wood: when St William had arrived at the spot where he was first buried, he stood over the brink of his cave and said, "Know you to whom this cave belongs?" The answer was, "It is yours": and the

[1] Cf. pp. 95, 283.

dixisset, terribiliter ei comminando subdidit: Ingredere igitur quamtotius, qui semper in me fuisti blasphemus. Conterritus ille et iubentis uerbo nequaquam contraire ausus, ut sibi uidebatur, speluncam ingressus est. Quo ingresso, eum continuo sanctus inuasit, fustigauit ac denique omnibus membris contritum dimisit. Terrore itaque excitatus dormiens Galterus, membris omnibus uehementissimam doloris sensit grauedinem, ac si quam per uisum uiderat, uigilans tolerasset fustigationem. Hacque castigationis pena, eum exinde cepit precordialiter uenerari ac deligere, cui primitus solebat despicabiliter derogare. Subscripsimus ecce quasi generale uniuersis commonitorium, uti hoc scilicet instruente exemplo sibi quisque precaueat, ne diuinis beneficiis ingratus deprauator existat. Temerarium enim ualde est in sanctos dei uerbis maledicis tam audacter inuehi, quos ab ipso domino tot ac tantis miraculis tam patenter constat glorificari.

xiv.

ERAT Norwici puella octennis Agnes nomine cuius pater Bondo, cognomento Hoc, et mater Gunnilda dicebatur. Hec ab ipso natiuitatis exordio podagre ciragreque graui laborabat incommodo.

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martyr with terrible threats replied, "Enter it, then, at once, you who have constantly blasphemed me." The frightened man, not daring to disobey the order, entered the cave, as he dreamed: and immediately the saint set on him and cudgelled him, finally letting him go when he was bruised in every limb. The sleeping Walter awoke in terror and felt the smart of severe pains all over him, as if he had had to bear waking the cudgelling he had seen in his dream. In consequence of this chastisement, he thenceforward began devotedly to worship and love him whom at first he had despised and disparaged. I would subjoin to this a sort of general warning to all, that with this example before him, each should take care to be no ungrateful sinner against the goodness of God: for it is the height of rashness to attack the saints of God thus boldly with abusive words, since we so plainly see them glorified by many and great miracles by the Lord Himself.

xiv. *Of a maid cured of gout.* 1156-68

There was at Norwich a maid eight years old called Agnes, whose father was Bondo, surnamed Hoc, her mother's name being Gunnilda. From her birth she had suffered severely from gout in the hands and

Non se propriis ualebat uiribus eleuare, neque absque adiuuantis adminiculo a latere in latus quandoque conuertere. Neruis quoque in ceruicem contractis, ad augmentum incommodi, humero sinistro sinistra mala tam inseparabiliter adherebat, ut alteri alterum incastrari cerneres atque in nullas omnino partes inflexo humero ceruix flecti preualebat. Multiplex igitur incommodum, pedibus podagricis incessus, manibus contractis attactus, capitique humero cohercenti consuetudinarius uidendi, erigendi, conuertendi et comedendi negabatur usus. Quotiens enim manducandi perurgebat necessitas, cibo super terram uel asserem comminuto, humi procumbens, et ad instar pecudis oppetens, id solum poterat manducare quod lingua uel dentibus contingebat attingere. Toto igitur impos et imbecillis corpore alienis uertebatur, erigebatur, et circumferebatur manibus. Hec si quidem talis matutinali secunde dominice quadragesimalis hora maternis ulnis ad sancti martiris Willelmi aduecta sepulcrum, coram uniuersa que die illa ad ecclesiam festiuius conuenerat plebe, suffragantibus sancti meritis confestim remedium optinuit sanitatis. Ex his quippe perpendendum est, quanta <et> quam pia sit sanctorum uirtus, que toto corpore imbecilles sub ipso eorundem aduentu remittit incolumes.

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feet, being unable to raise herself or even to turn from one side to the other without assistance. To make matters worse, the sinews in her neck were contracted and her left cheek adhered so firmly to her left shoulder that you saw the one imbedded in the other, and the neck could not be bent in any direction whatever without bending the shoulder. All these afflictions therefore she suffered: walk she could not with her gouty feet, nor touch anything with her contracted hands, while the adherence of her head to the shoulder deprived her of the wonted power of seeing, standing, turning, nay, eating: for when she had to take food, it was cut up on the ground or on a trencher, and she lay down and fed like a beast, able only to eat what her tongue or teeth caught hold of. In this absolutely helpless state she was turned, raised, and moved about by others' help. This poor creature was brought in her mother's arms to the tomb of the holy martyr William at the hour of matins the second Sunday in Lent, and, in presence of the crowds who assembled in greater numbers than usual on that day, by the intercession of the merits of the saint, immediately obtained relief and healing. Hence we ought to consider how great and how merciful is the power of the saints, since it can immediately upon their arrival send back whole those who are destitute of all strength.

XV.

ITIDEM sub eodem tempore quedam Hathewis filia Edwini presbiteri de Taureham, cuius auia auie sancti Willelmi soror fuerat, contracta et corpore imbecillis erat. Hec consanguinitatis ut magis credimus instinctu, ad sepulcrum sancti martiris quasi ad cognationis advenit asylum, et temporis articulo speratum salutis percepit remedium.

XVI.

HIS diebus quedam Huelina de Rochesburch, cui ex nature uitio pedum tali natibus adheserant, ad sepulcrum sancti martiris a patre in uehiculo rotatili aduehitur, quod ciueriam appellant. Ipsa quoque die puer quidam Baldewinus nomine a prouincia Lincolniensi Norwicum a patre itidem in ciueria aduehitur rotatili, cui arefactis a genibus infra pedum et tibiarum neruis, usus negabatur gradiendi. Quandoque tamen sed cum necessitas ingruebat, genibus innixus scabellis ibat manualibus. Hi siquidem ambo ad sepulcrum sancti martiris simul aduecti, eiusdem suffragantibus meritis saluti plene simul sunt restituti.

NEQVE multis post interiectis diebus puer quidam Herbertus nomine filius cuiusdam Berengarii Norwicensis a primeuo

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XV. *Of a deformed girl cured.* 1156-68

Also about the same time, Hathewis, daughter of Edwin, priest of Taverham, whose grandmother was sister to the grandmother of Saint William, was deformed and weak in her limbs. She, prompted, as I rather think, by the fact of her relationship, came to the tomb of the holy martyr as to a kindred refuge, and instantly obtained the longed-for cure.

XVI. *Of another deformed girl and three boys.* 1156-68

In these days one Huelina of Rochesburch[1], whose heels adhered to her back by natural deformity, was brought by her father to the holy martyr's tomb in a wheeled vehicle of the kind called a litter (civière). On the same day a boy named Baldwin, from the province of Lincoln, was brought by his father to Norwich, also in a litter with wheels: the sinews of his feet and legs from the knees downwards were wasted and deprived him of the power of walking. However, when forced to move himself, he crept along on his knees, leaning on hand-trestles[2]. Both these persons, being brought at the same time to the holy martyr's tomb, were restored to full health by the intervention of his merits.

Also not many days after, a boy named Herbert, son of one Berengar of Norwich, blind and dumb from infancy, was brought by his parents

[1] There is no such parish in East Anglia. Wroxham may be meant, but more probably Rockland. There were three Rocklands in Norfolk.

[2] See p. 205.

cecus et mutus tempore, ad sepulcrum beati martiris a parentibus adducitur, eademque aduentus sui die cum eisdem uidens et loquens regreditur. Quidam quoque Radulfus filius Ricardi de Hadestune membris omnibus imbecillis Norwicum a suis aduectus, sancti Willelmi curatus est meritis.

xvii.

DVM hec et alia huiusmodi ad gloriosi martiris laudem et gloriam Norwici contingerent magnalia, in mari quoque uirtus eiusdem insignis patuit et gloriosa. Maris etenim seuientibus nimium procellis, quedam longe a continenti periclitabatur nauis. Immanes siquidem fluctuum globi tum in ima depressi quendam horridum faciebant hiatum, tum se in altum preter morem extollentes subitum fragili carine minabantur precipitium. Vnde nunc quasi in celum efferebatur nauis, nunc ruine patebat horribili. Porro ingruente magis ac magis uentorum rabie, imbrium inundantia, turbatur celum, turbantur maria, et interitum minantur uniuersa. Rudentes et antenne rumpuntur, uelum scissum dissoluitur, malus egre se continet, mortem solam superstitem nauis titubans persuadet. Desperatus itaque nauta[1] quid faciat prorsus ignorat.

[1] ? nauclerus.

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to the tomb of the holy martyr, and on the day when he came returned with them, seeing and speaking.

Also a certain Ralph, son of Richard of Hadeston,[1] who was weak in all his limbs, was brought by his friends to Norwich and cured by the merits of Saint William.

1156-68

xvii. *Of certain saved at sea.*

Whilst these and other like miracles were happening at Norwich to the honour and praise of the glorious martyr, his power was also brilliantly shewn forth upon the sea. For once when a great storm was raging, a certain ship, far from land, was in great peril. Huge masses of waves sometimes sinking away opened a horrid gulf, and again rising to unwonted heights threatened instant destruction to the frail bark: so the ship at one moment was raised as I may say to heaven, and at the next was exposed to a frightful plunge. The rage of the winds and the pouring of the rain increased, sea and sky were in confusion and everything threatened destruction: cables and yards were snapped, the sail was rent, the mast hardly held its place, and the reeling of the vessel convinced all that death alone remained: the despairing captain was at his wits' end. Yet coming to better mind, he

[1] Hadeston, a hamlet of Bunwell, ten miles south of Norwich.

Potiori tamen usus consilio, derelictum nauis applustre arripiens, proram ad continentem conuertit, cursum destinatum pretermisit, ac persuadentibus sociis et maxime presbitero quodam Thetfordensi qui cum eis de Norweia aduenerat, beati martiris Willelmi opem inuocauit. Se quippe omnes et sua omnia pariter cum naui eius committunt patrociniis et sic directo cursu ad proximum tenditur litus. Quid plura? Inuocata sancti martiris ope, continuo uentorum cepit conquiescere rabies; in serenum aer et pelagus in planitiem paulatim redigitur. Currens uero propero cursu nauis, estu secedente marino, non longe a continenti prominentem arenarum incurrit molem, et absorbenti insidit sabulo. Fere nusquam tuta securitas. In maris perturbati profunditate periculum euaserat, in uadosa planitie incurrebat. Quo uiso, turbati conclamant naute, atque naui tunc maxime diffidentes, immo et quassatam estimantes, quam intus habebant scapham exponunt, et solis saltem saluandis consulunt corporibus. Corporum igitur saluti consulentes, sua omnia et nauem cum uelo erecto deserunt, sancti martiris Willelmi tuitioni uniuersa committunt, eique omnium que intus habebant si conseruentur, decimam uouentes repromittunt. Ventis, inquam, et mari nauis eminus exponitur, et appulsa littori cum nautis nauicula conser-

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seized the tiller, which had been abandoned, turned her head to land, leaving their projected course, and at the advice of his comrades and especially of a priest of Thetford who had come with them from Norway, called on the blessed martyr William for aid. To his protection all on board committed themselves, their goods and the ship, and so headed straight for land. What more? When the holy martyr's help had been invoked, the rage of the winds began to be soothed, the air to clear and the sea to calm. The ship, however, running quickly with the ebbing tide, grounded on a sandbank not far from the mainland and settled on a quicksand. Scarce anywhere was there safety: she had escaped danger in the stormy deep only to run into it in the shallows. Seeing this, the sailors cried out in terror, and no longer trusting the ship —nay, believing her to be breaking up,—they got out their boat, and took measures to save their bare lives. With this in view, they abandoned their goods and left the vessel with her sails set, committing everything to the protection of the holy martyr William, and vowing him a tenth of all they had, if it were preserved. The ship, I say, was left exposed to winds and waves, and the boat and sailors got safe

uatur. Sero erat, et incumbentibus iam tenebris nox imminebat. Mira res et pene incredibilis! Nauis siquidem tota nocte fluctibus exposita pro marini estus uicissitudine nunc sabulo imprimitur, nunc in altum tollitur, sed diuine uirtutis anchora quasi littori affixa tenetur. Illuscescente diluculo, ad reuisendam nauem concurritur, et non submersam admirantur. Ingressi ergo nauiculam, tranquilli maris famulante unda, ad nauem nauigio properant, quam saluam reperientes et integram, obstupescentes exultant. Nec mora; quisque pro uiribus unanimiter communi feruent negotio. Velo nempe quamtotius reparato refectisque funibus ad uelificandum accinguntur. Estu quoque fauente et aura, portui qui Charlefluot dicitur cursu prospero inuehuntur. Appulsi uero, deo sanctoque Willelmo conseruatori suo gratias agunt, et, ut uouerant, que in naui habebant uniuersa decimarunt. Decimarum collectum precium per manus memorati Thetfordensis presbiteri et quorundam consodalium Norwicum sancto martiri transmittunt, et se illius commendant patrociniis.

QVIDAM itidem Humfredus Norwicensis, periclitante et submersa in hostio de Scardeburc naui cui inerat, sub mortis discrimine sancti Willelmi martiris opem inuocauit, et sicut ex omnibus in inuocationem[1] martiris solus extitit, solus ex omnibus

[1] *l.* inuocatione.

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to land. It was late, and darkness and night were coming on. What happened is hardly credible. The ship exposed all night to the waves was now dashed on the sand, now raised high above it, according as the tide ebbed or flowed, but was held fixed to the shore as by the anchor of GOD's power. At dawn, all ran to look for the ship, and marvelled that she had not sunk. They took boat, and aided by a calm sea, speedily reached the ship: and finding her safe and sound were filled with joy and amazement. All at once set to work, repaired the sail, replaced the rigging and set sail. So, with favouring wind and tide, they reached the harbour called Charlfleet[1]. On landing they gave thanks to GOD and their preserver Saint William, and as they had vowed, set aside a tenth of all that was in the ship. They then sent the value of this tithe to Norwich to the holy martyr by the hands of the aforesaid priest of Thetford and some of their companions; and commended themselves to the saint's protection.

Also one Humphrey of Norwich, when the ship he was in was imperilled and foundering in the harbour of Scarborough, called on Saint William the martyr for aid when at the point of death; and, as he had been the only one to invoke the martyr, so he alone of all was

[1] Query Harfleur?

diuina uirtute sed modo mirabili saluatur, et mirabilius extra spem omnium incolumis litori aduehitur.

xviii.

SOLET nonnunquam et auidis lectoribus inferre fastidium multiplicitas congesta miraculorum. Miraculorum frequenter succrescebat numerus, quoniam in glorioso martire suo diuina non deficiebat uirtus. Audire igitur non tedeat, quod Christus fidelibus suis prestat. Vnde producatur in medium ac presenti inseratur pagine illud eximie nobilitatis miraculum quod anno ab incarnatione domini M°. C°. LXVIII°. in capella sancti Willelmi de silua in oculis multorum consistentium uideri contigit. Dedicauerat quippe illam Willelmus Norwicensis episcopus in octabis pasche quinto kalendas Maii. Intercurrente autem modico dierum post dedicationem interuallo, uenerunt Norwicum quidam ex Cantebrigie prouincia ad sanctum Willelmum. Qui dum Norwici sancta circuissent loca, uenerunt tandem ad memoratam et nouiter dedicatam sancti Willelmi in silua capellam. Dumque more peregrinantium ad altare accederent, et oblationes offerrent, mirum dictu, immo et mirabilius uisu, mulier quedam de consortio eorum cum eisdem

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saved by GOD's power in a wonderful manner, and contrary to all expectation was brought safe to land.

xviii. *Of a sorceress repelled from the altar: and of the wonderful experiences of a young lady in Worcestershire.*

1168

An indiscriminate heaping together of miracles is apt to tire even the keenest reader; and the number of miracles grew, forasmuch as GOD's power was not found wanting in His glorious martyr. It ought then not to be wearisome to hear of what Christ does for His faithful ones. Therefore let me bring forward and insert into this work the relation of that preeminently notable wonder which happened in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1168 in the chapel of Saint William in the wood, in the presence of many witnesses. This chapel had been consecrated by William, Bishop of Norwich, on the octave of Easter, which was the 5th of the Kalends of May (Ap. 27). A short interval had elapsed since the dedication, when there came certain from the county of Cambridge to Norwich to Saint William; and after visiting the holy places of the city, they at last arrived at the aforesaid newly-dedicated chapel of Saint William in the wood. They approached the altar and presented their offerings, as pilgrims do, when, wondrous to tell and yet more wondrous to see,—a woman of their company wishing to ascend the

gradus conscendere uolens, inuisibili quadam uirtute repulsa est. Itidem animosius accessit, set fortius repulsa retro cessit. Nescia uero quod diuinitus repelleretur, tercio et quarto gradibus accessit, ascensum attemptauit, sed se multo uehementius repelli persensit. Et quo amplius eam in oculis assistentium repulse puduit, eo acrius atque frequentius conatus suos reiterare affectauit. Quid multa? Laborabat mulier diuine uirtutis ignara et reiterande presumptionis cupida. Denique se incassum laborare persentiens, preuaricatrix ad cor rediit et flagitiorum suorum conscia, in lacrimose querele prorupit eiulatus dicens: Oh me miseram et miserabilem! Oh perditam et infelicem! Peccatrix impura tantorumque flagitiorum conscia, tot annis insolescens, inpenitens et inconfitens, deum non timeo, homines non reuereor. Qua ergo frontis irreuerentia, qua mentis audatia incesto pede et sacrilega mente sacra contingere presumpsi loca? Et reuera digne pro meritis mihi contigit. Sortilega, impudica et immunda, sacrati munditiam loci ingressu indebito pollui, et culparum oblita, culparum uindicem irritaui. Indignam spurcitie mee oblationem mentis et corporis sacrilegio perquisitam, non indigne sanctus Willelmus renuit, uirtus diuina repellit, utpote quam accessus indignam adiudicauit. Heu me

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altar-steps with them, was driven back by some invisible power: she drew near again in a more determined fashion, but was repelled with greater force, and retreated. Not perceiving that it was God who was keeping her away, she tried to mount the steps a third and a fourth time, but felt herself driven back again with greater violence; and the more ashamed she grew at being rejected before witnesses, the more eagerly and often did she repeat her efforts. What more? She continued her exertions, unconscious of the divine power, and eager to renew her bold attempt. Finally seeing that all was in vain, the poor sinner returned to her senses, acknowledged her guilt, and broke forth into tears and cried: "O wretched miserable creature! lost and unhappy that I am! foul sinner, conscious of so many crimes, hardened for so many years, impenitent, unshriven; I fear not God nor regard man! How brazen-faced, how bold, to presume with polluted foot and profane soul to touch this holy place! Truly I am rewarded according to my deserts. A sorceress, of impure life, I have with unlicensed foot defiled the purity of this consecrated spot, have forgotten my sins, and drawn their avenger on myself. Rightly does Saint William refuse the offering obtained by defilement of body and soul, rightly does God's power repel me as unworthy to approach Him. Alas wretched me! alas

miseram, heu infelicem! Quid igitur agam infelix et misera, quo diuertam diuinitus repudiata? Hec profusis interserebat lacrimis, hec complosis uociferabat palmis. Peplo denique capitis auulso nunc crines digitis decerpens, nunc faciem, nunc pectus pugnis tundens, et nonnunquam pedibus terram proterens, mirabili et miserabili se agebat modo. Sic aliquandiu se habuit, unde et oculos assistentium in se conuertit. Accessit igitur quidam qui altaris astabat custodie, ab ea sciscitans cur se sic haberet, uel cur cum sodalibus altari non accessisset. Atque hoc dicto, ei candelam tradidit, ut cum lumine ueniens accedendi gratiam optineret. Cui illa: Domine, peccatrix ego peccatis onusta, accedere quidem uolui nec potui, et quotiens accessum attemptaui, totiens repulsam pertuli. Repellit me quidam elegantis forme iuuenis qui quotiens gradibus accedo, totiens occurrit, totiens retrudit. Hic soli misere mihi terribilis, aliisque ut mihi uidetur apparet mitis. Hic dictis, siluit, ac resedit. Demum, utpote dolore multo ac labore fatigata, modicum quieuit et paulisper dormiuit. Postmodum expergefacta, denuo surrexit. Accensa quam diximus candela, ascensure instar gradibus accessit, atque itidem is qui prius eam eminus reppulit. Vnde nimirum rubore confusa tum dolore permota, prorupit in lacrimas, lacrimisque et singultibus cordis innotuit anxietas. Anxia

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unhappy! What shall I do? whither shall I go, the rejected of God?" Her words were interspersed with tears and clapping of hands: she pulled her kerchief from her head and tore her hair and face and beat her breast, trampling upon the ground, and behaving in a manner to excite wonder and pity. This went on for some time, and attracted the eyes of all. The guardian of the altar came to her, and asked what ailed her, and why she had not approached the altar with her fellows: at the same time he gave her a candle, in order that she might come provided with a light and thus obtain grace to approach. She answered "Sir, I am a sinner, loaded with guilt: I wished to draw near, but I could not: I was driven back as often as I attempted to do so. There is a youth of beautiful form who drives me away, pushing me back whenever I approach the steps. He is only formidable, alas! to me, and to the rest seems to be kind." She was then silent and sat down, and after, worn out with grief and weariness, slumbered for awhile, then awoke and, rising to her feet, lighted the candle of which I spoke and went to the steps as if to mount them. But the same person as before drove her back. At this she was covered with confusion and grief, burst into tears and sobs, and shewed every sign of disturbance: then,

circumspicit, circumspiciens ait: Veniat, queso, siquis hic assit sacerdos, cui scelera scelerata reuelem, cui crimina criminosa commemorem. Veniat, obsecro, cui uite enormitatem confitear, qui penitentis confessionem suscipiat, suscipiens absoluat, absoluens flagitiis penam assignet. Credo utique nec dubito quod, ubi confessa fuero et a presbitero absoluta, et sacri martiris consequar suffragium et sacrati altaris promerebor accessum. Venit itaque quidam ueteranus sacerdos, seorsum abduxit, confitenti penitentiam indixit, et iam de cetero confidere amonuit. Quid plura? Iam securior e marsupio stipem protulit, candelam reaccendit, gradibus approprians profusis orauit lacrimis. Lacrimas ministrabat deuote compunctio mentis. Ex compunctionis fonte profusus lacrimarum ille riuus aera penetrans celis influit, et ad uotum gemitus peruenit. Oratione finita, pede timido ascensum attemptauit, et quem ex aduerso sibi occurrentem uidere consueuerat non uidens, iam securior gradibus pedem confidentius infixit. Iamque repulsam non sentiens neque repellentem se uidens, confidenti pede et mente alacri ascendit, atque altari sue munus oblationis imposuit.

Itaque in huius admiratione miraculi dum rei geste qualitatem considero, gloriosam illam beate Marie Egyptiace peni-

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anxiously looking about her, she said, "Let some priest come, I pray, if there is one present, to whom I may confess my sins and crimes, and all the enormities of my life; let him hear my confession, absolve me, and impose penance. I am sure that when I am confessed and absolved by a priest I shall obtain the prayers of the holy martyr, and be allowed to approach the holy altar." So there came an old priest who took her aside and imposed penance after confession and bade her be of good cheer for the future. To be short, she was reassured, took her money out of her purse, relighted her candle, and drew near to the steps: here she prayed with flowing tears, which her devout repentance produced; and that fount of tears penetrated the air and flowed into the heavens and her groaning ended in prayer. After her prayer she attempted the ascent with timid foot, and no longer seeing him whom she had seen before opposing her, now planted her foot more boldly upon the steps. Meeting with no repulse and seeing no repeller, she then confidently and eagerly ascended and laid her offering upon the altar.

Now when I reflect on the manner of this miracle, I recall to my memory the glorious repentance of Saint Mary of Egypt[1]. She was a

[1] The most famous of the female Saints who were "penitents" next to St Mary Magdalene. Her feast is on Ap. 2. Her story may be most conveniently consulted in Mrs Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i., p. 385.

tentiam memori mente reuoluo. Illa eximie indolis generosa peccatrix, apud Ierusalem loca sacra sacrilego temerare ingressu presumpsit. Hec forme anilis flagitiosa prestigiatrix apud Norwicum in silua nouiter sacratam sancti Willelmi capellam pede impudico subintrauit. Illam gloriose dei genitricis uirtus inuisibilis uisibiliter ab oratorii ingressu cohercuit: istam gloriosi martiris Willelmi uirtus manifesta manifeste ab altaris sui accessu retrusit. Vtrobique pudoris et doloris se ingessit confusio, confusionem subsecuta est compunctio, compunctioni successit penitentia; penitentia uero profusis lacrimis multi lauit maculas criminis. Sic itaque penitentium beneficio lacrimarum illa oratorii ingressum, et ista sacri altaris promeruit accessum. Patet ergo quante reuerentie sit locus hic qui a tante auctoritatis et religionis episcopo consecratus, primaque sancti martiris Willelmi tumulatione fuerit insignitus. Ibi quippe multa et multimoda uirtutum miracula uirtus frequenter operatur diuina. Nempe in argumentum sanctitatis loci est tum Galteri famuli olim Willelmi de Hastinge, in sompnis flagellati correctio, Botilde uxoris olim Girardi Coci curatio, tum prestigiatricis muliercule quam prelibauimus repulsio. Maxime autem loci commendat sanctitatem egregium illud, pre miraculis ut ita dicam miraculum, quod in

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sinner of noble birth and great beauty who attempted with profane foot to enter the holy places at Jerusalem. The other was an old woman, a witch, who with polluted step entered the newly-dedicated chapel of Saint William in the wood at Norwich. St Mary was visibly restrained from entering the place of prayer by the invisible power of the glorious mother of God. The other was evidently thrust back from approaching his altar by the manifest power of the glorious martyr William. In both cases there was confusion and grief, confusion followed by compunction, compunction by repentance: and repentance with its floods of tears washed away the stains of their many sins. So each by the aid of repentant tears obtained, the one access to the oratory, the other power to approach the altar. It is evident, then, how reverend is this spot, consecrated by a Bishop of such authority and eminence in religion, and distinguished by the first burial of the holy martyr William. Certainly many and divers miracles have there been wrought by the power of God. For a proof of the holiness of the place we may cite the chastisement, in a dream, of Walter, sometime servant to William of Hastings, the cure of Botilda, wife of Gerard the Cook, and the repulse of the sorceress, just related. But most of all is its sanctity commended by that excellent miracle of miracles, as I may call it, which once happened in the county of Worcester, and was committed

Wigornensi olim prouincia contigit, scriptoque traditum quidam Persorensis monachus Christianus nomine, uir equidem religione pollens et literatura, nobis Norwicensibus transmisit in his uerbis:

Sancto et deo strenue militanti conuentui Norwicensi, frater Christianus, fratrum Persorensium minimus, uita peccator, habitu et nomine solo monachus, vite presentis quietem et future beatitudinem.

Quanta uos felicitate pre cunctis totius regionis, immo orbis uniuersi, in nostra dico tempestate clarificauerit, quanto et quam admirabili corroborauerit pignore, nobis etiam longo a uobis interuallo distantibus diuina reuelare dignata est miscericordia. Est enim in partibus nostris uir, nomine notus, fama insignis, genere preclarus, prole beatus, Adam de Cromba nuncupatus. Quem et si in multis affines gratiosum, precipue utriusque sexus propagine predicant felicem. Sunt enim huic liberi monachi religiosi, milites strenui, iuuenes elegantissimi, puelle immo potius adhuc uirgines, specie et pudicitia prouincialibus incomparabiles. Quarum uultibus sanguis regius, moribus patris pia seueritas et matris pudica facile innotescit disciplina. Harum que minor est natu Agnes nomine diuturna excocta est infirmitate, longo temporis spacio

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to writing by Christian, a monk of Pershore, a man distinguished for religion and learning, and sent to us of Norwich in these terms:

To the holy convent of Norwich, earnestly fighting the good fight for God, brother Christian, the least of the brethren at Pershore, a sinner in his life, a monk in habit and name alone, wishes rest in the present life, and happiness in that which is to come.

The mercy of God has vouchsafed to reveal even unto us who are removed by so long an interval from you with how great happiness he hath blessed you, before all that dwell in the country, nay in all the world, at least in our time, and with how precious and admirable a pledge he hath strengthened you. For there is in our neighbourhood a man distinguished in name and fame, of noble race, and rich in offspring, whose name is Adam of Croome[1]: whose neighbours account him favoured in many respects, but particularly in regard of his offspring of both sexes. He has children who are monks in religion, brave warriors, handsome youths, damsels or I should say maids, the first in the county for beauty and modesty, in whose countenances is seen their royal descent, while in their character we trace the kindly firmness of their father, and chaste training of their mother. The youngest of these, named Agnes, has long been exhausted by illness, bed-ridden for a considerable space,

[1] The advowson of Hill Croom belonged to Pershore Abbey. Adam de Crombe is noticed in the red book of the Exchequer, 8 Richard I. Nash's *Worcestershire*, i. 264.

clinica[1], usque ad uite desperationem languore misero extenuata est. Misero, inquam, cum sepius in die uehementi coacta angustia, brachia iactans, lumina circumducens, prorsus exanguis tortuose uolueretur. Assistentes preter spiritus exalationem nichil conitiebant. Huic cum aliquando sorores pietate mote, uiso dolore affecte, cum capellano et familia ut finem uiderent assisterent, tunc brachiis remissis, corpore composito, oculis leniter clausis, dolore etiam sopito ac si aliquem ueneratione dignum conueniret, et eidem mutuo cum omni diligentia responderet, orsa est, preter quam cum neminem uel uidere uel audire mererentur, insompniis agitatam crederent ubi[2] quia uultus et uerborum grauitas erat non minima. Quam cum ita diu sustinuissent, tandem illi quibus maior inerat prudentia, quid uideret, quem conueniret, cui tantam exhibens reuerentiam, responderet, ne occultaret, obnixe inquirere agressi sunt. Quibus illa: Iuuenem uideo pulcherrimum cruentum, crucem gestantem. Cumque admonerent ut sequeretur: Sequor, inquit, et instanter sequar, et sedulo obsequar. Sed nemus ingreditur. Nunc parte nemoris transita capellam in eodem sitam nunc intrat ligneam. Nunc ut missam celebret, uestibus se induit

[1] clinica *codex.* [2] *Ita codex: lege* nisi.

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and worn down so wretchedly that her life was despaired of. Wretchedly, I say, for several times in the day she would be compelled in her anguish to toss her arms about, roll her eyes, and writhe and twist, while the blood entirely left her face. Those who stood by could perceive no sign of life save in her breathing. On one occasion, when her sisters, moved by pity and touched by her sufferings, were stationed by her with the chaplain and the household to see the end, she let her arms sink, composed her frame, and with gently closed eyes, and freed from pain, she began to speak as if she were conferring with some one worthy of reverence, and answering him with great respect. As they were not permitted to see or hear any one other than herself, they would have supposed she was visited by a dream, save that the gravity of her face and speech was remarkable. When they had allowed this to go on for some time, the wiser of the party began closely to ask her to tell without concealment what she saw, with whom she was speaking, whom she was answering with such shew of veneration. She replied, "I see a most beautiful youth, stained with blood, who bears a cross." And when they bade her follow him, "So I am doing," she said, "and I will follow him closely and obey him diligently. But he is entering a wood! Now he has passed through part of it, and is going into a wooden chapel that stands in it! Now he is vesting in

sacerdotalibus. Sed ue mihi misere sexui meo timenti! cum non sit qui suffragetur, ministrare non presumo. Sed ecce ingreditur dignior me et sanctior, et ad sacrosancta magis idoneus, Robertus ut audio nuncupatus. Post hec intentissime auscultando paulisper obticuit, et spiritu ab imo resumpto, uoce submissa sed adprime supplici, *Misereatur uestri* etc. et *Confiteor deo*, et que sequuntur, respondit, que ante missarum inchoationem supplicando dicere usum habet ecclesia. Angelice[1] igitur que euangelium precedere solent perfectis cum ipsum legeretur, se miseram clamitans et infelicem, cum quid offerret non haberet. Cuius deuotionem ipse sanctus presentiens, per prefatum Robertum nummum sibi misit aureum. Quem sicut auide dono donantis letissima suscepit, ita deuotissime ut uel osculando manum aliquid de eo sic tangere liceret, obtulit. Sacramentum etiam corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ortodoxorum omnium salutem, de illis sanctissimis manibus post pacem sibi datam accepit. Ordine igitur ecclesiastico que tanto congruunt sacramento peractis, ut tempus est adepta et locum, timide cum reuerentia sanctum dei affata est:

[1] *Ita codex: l.* anglice. Igitur.

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priest's robes to celebrate mass! But alas! poor me, I fear for my sex: there is none to make the responses, and I dare not act as server. But see, here comes one worthier and holier than I and more fit for the holy office: I hear him called Robert[1]." At this point she ceased speaking for some moments, and listened intently. Then, drawing a deep breath, she began again in a low and pleading voice with the responses to *Misereatur uestri*, *Confiteor deo*, and so on—being the prayers which the Church offers before the beginning of the mass—in English. When, therefore, all that part of the mass which precedes the Gospel had been gone through, and when the Gospel itself was being read, she cried out upon herself for a poor unhappy creature that had nothing to offer! The saint himself perceiving her devotion sent her a gold piece by the hands of the aforesaid Robert. This she received with eager joy and offered it most devoutly, as if she desired by kissing the saint's hand at least to touch somewhat of him. She also received the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the salvation of all the orthodox, from those most holy hands, after the pax had been given to her. Then, after all had been gone through according to the Church's order, that belongs to this great sacrament, when she found a fit opportunity and place, she timidly and reverently addressed the saint of God and said:

[1] Can this be Robert the boy-martyr of Bury? His reputed date is 1181, later, as it seems, than this document.

Domine mi omni ueneratione dignissime, sancte beate, deo care, quem te ad infirmitatis mee auxilium, ad destitutionis mee solatium, ad miserie mee suffragium, ad dolorum et angustiarum mearum refrigerium inuocabo? Tum ille, ut supernorum credimus esse consciuium diuinam spirans dulcedinem, condolens infirmitati, uirginali compatiens anxietati, hilaris cum grauitate, benignissimo respiciens intuitu, dulcissimo respondit sermone, se illum, quem sanctum dicunt esse, Willelmum. Et illa pedibus sancti prouoluta: Sancte, clamat, Willelme, miserere mei omnium miserrime. Sancte Willelme, medere meis angustiarum angustiis. Sancte Willelme, uide infirmitates meas, et celeri pietate succurre. Sanaberis, inquit, sed modum sanitatis tue diligenter attende. Elementum quo maxima fiunt sacramenta, aquam dico benedictam, accipies, pedes crucifixi in <nomine> dei patris omnipotentis et filii patri consubstantialis et spiritus sancti patri et filio coeterni, lauabis. In qua micas panis diminues, et inde fide bona uescens dilatione semota sanitatem consequeris. Quod non tue huic soli infirmitati medicamen erit, sed omnibus quocumque languore egrotantibus, si ut diximus fide bona deum inuocantes usi fuerint, refrigerium. Et ut hinc uerum specimen comperias, febricitanti que in noua

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"My Lord, worthy of all worship, blessed saint, dear to God, by what name shall I call upon thee to help my weakness, to comfort my loneliness, to pray for my misery, and to relieve my pain and anguish?" Then he, breathing a fragrance such as we believe pertains to the citizens of heaven, in compassion for the maid's anxiety, looked upon her most kindly, alike with cheerfulness and gravity, and answered in the sweetest tones: "I am William whom they call saint." Throwing herself at the saint's feet, she cried: "Saint William, have mercy on me that need mercy! Saint William, heal my anguish! Saint William, look upon mine infirmities, and aid me with speedy kindness." "Healed you shall be," said he, "but you must mark carefully the manner of your healing: you shall take of that element wherewith the greatest sacraments are performed,—I mean holy water,—and therewith wash the feet of the crucifix in <the name> of God the Father Almighty, of the Son of one substance with the Father and of the Holy Ghost coeternal with the Father and the Son: herein you shall soak crumbs of bread and eat them without delay in faith, and you shall obtain health. And this remedy shall not only relieve your own sickness, but shall also benefit all that are sick, of whatever disease, if, as I have said, they make use of it in faith, calling upon God. To give you an example of this, you shall give part of it to one that is suffering from

ecclesia Crombe torquetur inde impercies, et repente curabitur. Medicine quibus hucusque usa es, quedam nocuerunt, profuit nulla. In uirginitate humilis permaneas, cibis etiam quibusdam, in omnibus modum tenens, non indulgeas. Mundum, id est que mundi sunt, fugias. Deo et que dei sunt adhereas. Sed ne ignara locorum uia exorbites, uel per deuia sola uageris, hunc tibi Robertum ducem trado et custodem. His auditis, benedictione accepta, corripuere uiam, festinatione compendiosa nulla tamen parte tanti itineris pretermissa, deuenere Crombam. Ibique ut in tuto posita ualedicto a duce suo dimissa est. Et uere nulla itineris parte pretermissa, cum adhuc itinera dierum, locorum nomina, species et qualitates eorundem, a duce suo docta, manifestissime narraret. Et que nunquam a domo patris sui plus septem miliariis egressa est, ab his qui sepius pedibus et equis iter illud mensi sunt nec in uerbo redargui potest. Ad se reuersa, iussa sibi festinare rogat, parant, offeruntque parata, comedit, bibit, et conualuit. Febricitanti prememorato impertire monet. Cumque illi nullum ibi febricitantem assererent, illa econtra illum etiam cum perante ecclesiam redeundo transisset uidisse, re ipsa probauit.

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fever in the new church of Croome, and he shall be healed forthwith. The medicines you have hitherto used have some of them done you harm and none of them good. Continue humbly in your virginity; indulge not in some articles of food and be moderate in all. Flee from the world, that is, from such things as are of the world. Cleave to God and to those things that are of God. But lest you should stray in ignorance of the way, or wander alone out of the path, I give you Robert here for a guide and guardian." Upon hearing this, she received his blessing and they set forth, and hastening at great speed, though they omitted no part of the journey, they arrived at Croome. Leaving her there, as in safety, her guide bade her farewell, and departed. They had really omitted no part of the journey, for she could still plainly repeat the stages of each day, the names of the places, their appearance and characteristics as they had been told her by her guide; so that this girl, who had never been more than seven miles from her father's house, could not be detected in a single mistake by those who had often traversed the distance on foot or on horseback. When she returned to herself, she asked that they would at once prepare the things prescribed: they prepared and presented them. She ate, drank, and recovered. She then bade them give the remedy to the fever-patient just mentioned. She was told there was no such person: but she proved by the facts that she had seen him also, when she had passed through the aforesaid church on her return journey.

Qui ut gustauit pristine restitutus est sanitati. Rogemus igitur tanti suffragatoris solatium, ut qui uere Christum secutus est, uere crucem baiulans, uere et miscericorditer nos suis sanctis meritis Christo reconciliet, ut lutea euadentes ergastula in celesti amenitate faciem Creatoris uidentes collocemur. Cui laus, honor et imperium per infinita secula. Amen.

HEC ab ipsa uirgine et uirginis patre, et a capellano et ceteris ueridicis sepius audiui, diligenter didici, uerum comprobaui, et uobis ut potui breuiter scribere curaui.

xix.

IN superne ciuitatis regno licet multe sint ac distincte ciuibus mansiones, uniuersis tamen una et indistincta in uisione sui regis irradiat felicitas. Quos autem multipliciter una felicitatis concludit gloria, eos uniformiter et una karitatis connectit concordia. Vnde nonnullos quos piis consociari opinor meritis, pariter plerumque cooperari non admiror in miraculis, et unius non nunquam contingit esse miraculi comparticipes, licet in meritis non sint pares. Igitur anno ab incarnatione domini M°. C°. LXXII°. quidam Gaufridus nomine Cantuarie mansitans,

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The sick man tasted the remedy and was restored to his former health. Let us therefore pray for the comfort of this great intercessor, that he who truly followed Christ, and truly bare the cross, may also truly and mercifully reconcile us to Christ by his holy merits, so that when we come forth of these dungeons of clay, we may be lodged among the pleasures of heaven, beholding the face of our Creator: unto whom be praise, honour and dominion unto infinite ages. Amen.

These matters I have several times heard from the maiden herself, her father, the chaplain and other trustworthy persons; have attentively learned them, ascertained the truth of them, and taken pains to write to you as shortly as I can.

xix. *Of the cure of Gaufrid of Canterbury.*

1172

Although in the kingdom of the city above there are many separate mansions for the citizens, yet upon the faces of all alike there shines a like glory in the vision of their King. And those who, though various, are conjoined in one glory and happiness, are likewise bound together by one bond of charity. Hence I do not marvel that some, whom I believe to be associated in merits, should sometimes share in miracles, nay, take different parts in one and the same miracle, even though they be not equals in merit.

Now, in the year of the incarnation 1172, one Gaufridus, living at

uehementissimo dentium dolore laborabat. Vnde suorum consilio permonitus, tres sinistre faucis maxillares quibus maxime perurgebatur, erui fecit, factumque inprouide paruipendens, cene nociue se contulit. Cernens enim candidissimas mense apponi pisas, ac pinguissimum cum allio anserem, gula illectus ex omnibus ad sacietatem gustauit; ceruisiam nouellam bibit, sed contrarie diete gustum grauissimum mox tumoris ac doloris subsecutum est incommodum. Nempe gradatim succrescente doloris angustia, totum adeo caput intumuit, ut iam non hominis faciem sed monstruosam monstruosi animalis pretenderet effigiem, cutis undique ad instar uesice distenditur, ut intuentes non rumpi mirarentur. Nasi eminentia in planitiem redigitur, oculi infossi hebetantur. Turgescentibus labris bucca clauditur et spirandi facultas denegatur. Vnde familiares ori eius palustrem quo respiraret inmittunt calamum, ne interclusa spirandi uia spiritum suffocaret. Quid multa? Persistente nimii doloris angustia, ad iam gloriosum gloriosi martiris et archipresulis Thome sepulcrum ab amicis deducitur, ubi pernoctans, angustie sue remedium gemitu quo

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Canterbury, was afflicted with a severe toothache, and on the advice of his friends, had the three teeth in his left jaw which pained him the most, extracted. He thought little of the matter and went to a supper—with evil results. For, seeing on the table a dish of excellent white peas, and a fat goose with garlic, he was tempted by gluttony and partook of all of them to satiety, and also drank new ale: but this meal, so ill-suited to his case, was followed by a severe attack of pain and swelling. This increased until his whole head swelled so much that he presented the appearance, not of a man but of some portentous and horrid monster: his skin was stretched like a bladder so that those who saw him wondered that it did not break. The prominence of the nose was reduced to flatness; the eyes were sunken and dimmed: the mouth closed by the swelling of the lips and the power of breathing obstructed. So that his friends inserted a reed into his mouth to enable him to breathe, lest he should be suffocated by the choking of the passages. What more? As his anguish continued, he was taken by his friends to the already glorious tomb of the glorious martyr and archbishop Thomas[1]. Here he spent the night, and with such groanings as he could utter, besought relief from his pain. At

[1] Archbishop Thomas had been murdered in 1170. He was formally canonized by Alexander II. in 1173: but was popularly honoured as a saint almost immediately after his death.

potuit deprecatur. Tandem sub aurora paululum obdormiscens, uidet in sompnis sibi assistere piissimum martirem illum et archipresulem Thomam dicentem: Gaufride, quid hic queris? Et ille: Domine, ut mihi miserearis meamque cures egritudinem. Ad hec sanctus: Non est hic cura tua. Sed ne tui ad me aduentus fructu defrauderis, consilium do. Surge igitur et domum regredere, factaque in nomine sancti Willelmi martiris Norwicensis candela, eadem totum caput tuum circulariter inuolue, et festinum percipies remedium. Curatus uero, Norwicum propera, eandem liberatori tuo oblaturus candelam. Ad hec expergefactus, surgit eger, domum regreditur, et que sibi iniuncta fuerant accelerantur. Mira res, ac ualde stupenda! Capite toto in nomine sancti Willelmi candela inuoluto, ubi ipsa sub gutture a leua finem cepit, cutis quasi ad subulam explosa crepuit, et sanies multa prorumpens effluxit. Mira quidem uelocitas! Continuo tumor subsidit, dolor abscessit et egrotus conualuit. Curatus ergo peregrinationis iniunctum nolens differre negotium, sepulcrum beati Thome adiit, orauit, licentiam accepit, atque iter arripuit. Cum autem a Cantuaria longius abscessisset, uillamque que Ofspreng dicitur circa horam primam pertransisset, solus uadens orauit ad dominum, ut bonum

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dawn he slept a little and saw in a dream that most merciful martyr and archbishop Thomas standing by him, who said, "Gaufrid, what seekest thou here?" "Lord," said he, "that thou wouldst have pity on me and recover me of my sickness." The Saint answered, "Thy healing is not here: but, lest thou be deprived of all profit from coming to me, I will give thee counsel. Rise, then, and return home: make a candle in the name of Saint William the martyr of Norwich; put it about all thy head and thou shalt receive speedy relief: when thou art healed, hasten to Norwich and offer that candle to thy liberator." At this the sick man awoke, rose, returned home, and hastened to accomplish the matters enjoined upon him. Wonderful event, and truly amazing! He put the candle all about his head in the name of Saint William, and at the point, on the left side of the throat, where the end of it came, the skin cracked and burst as if pricked with an awl, and a great deal of discharge came out. The swelling subsided with extraordinary quickness; the pain departed and the sick man recovered. Thus cured, he would not put off the prescribed pilgrimage, but went to the tomb of the blessed Thomas, prayed, received a letter of licence and started: when he had now gone some way from Canterbury and had passed through the town called Ospringe at about the first hour, as he was journeying alone, he

peregrinationis sue sibi conferre dignaretur consortium. Cumque paululum procederet atque id ipsum instantius orando replicaret, subito uiri duo facie reuerendi habituque uenerabiles superueniunt. Vnus nitidioribus niue splendebat uestibus, alter regii scematis gerebat insignia. Et accedentibus illis, ait candidatus ille: Salue, frater, et quo uadis? Ad hec Gaufridus: Bene ueniatis, fratres, ego Norwicum uado. Et ille: Eamus ergo pariter, quoniam et nos ad regiones illas proficiscimur. Quibus ambulantibus, medius interponitur Gaufridus. Qui uelut nobis postmodum enarrauit, ita dulcibus eorum delinitus est uerbis, ut nec itineris laborem ambulando sentiret, nec quomodo Tamesie transierit flumen, cognosceret. Denique ipsa die post nonam urgente ad occasum sole peracta tante admirationis pedestri dieta, ad spinam pariter ueniunt, que tercium a sancto Aedmundo terminat miliarium. Vbi consistentibus illis, ait candidatus ille ad Gaufridum: Nunquid, frater, ubi sis cognoscis? Et cum se nescire responderet, ait: Ecce quam uides turris ecclesie sancti Aedmundi est. Vade igitur in pace, et dominus sit tecum. Et quoniam hodie mane bonum exoptasti consortium, ecce factum est sicut petisti. Noueris enim me esse Thomam archipresulem Cartuariensem[1], atque hunc

[1] *Ita codex*, l. Cantuariensem.

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prayed the Lord to vouchsafe to give him good companionship for his pilgrimage. He was proceeding, and praying yet more earnestly when suddenly two men of reverend aspect and dignified habit joined him. One was clad in raiment whiter than snow, the other wore the badges of kingly dignity. As they approached, the one in white said, "Hail, brother, whither goest thou?" Gaufrid answered, "Welcome, brethren: I am going to Norwich." "Let us go together," said the other, "we too are journeying in that direction." They went on, Gaufrid being in the midst: and, as he told me afterwards, so pleasantly beguiled was he by the sweetness of their converse, that he felt no fatigue from the journey, nor perceived how they crossed the river Thames. Finally, on that same day, near sunset, having accomplished this wonderful journey on foot, they came to the stone which marks the third mile from (Bury) St Edmunds. Here they halted, and the man in white said to Gaufrid, "Knowest thou, brother, where thou art?" He answered, "I do not." "Lo," said the other, "the tower which thou seest is the tower of St Edmund's Church. Go in peace, therefore, and the Lord be with thee. And, inasmuch as thou didst this morning pray for good companionship, lo, it hath been done as thou didst request. For know thou, that I am Thomas the archbishop of Canter-

alterum, beatum Aedmundum regem et martirem. Beatum uero martirem Willelmum Norwicum premisimus, ibique illum inuenies. Quibus dictis, a uisibus Gaufridi uterque subito disparuit. In se ergo reuersus Gaufridus quanto magis rem gestam excogitat, tanto amplius qualiter illuc tam cito aduenerit ignorat. Dumque animo metitur uelocitatem, admiratur defuisse laborem. Nimirum ubi labor defuit, lassitudo non successit. Itidem dum suauitatem recolit sermonum, tam sacro se dolet consortio destitutum. Agensque gratias deo et sanctis martiribus, confestim festino gressu Bedricheswurche properat, ecclesiam intrat, sepulcrum martiris ueneratur, et ad hospitium digreditur. Mane uero surgens et aliquid uelocitatis hesterne in se persentiscens, reliquum itineris pede propero percurrit, et Norwicum citissime peruenit. Sancti martiris Willelmi sepulcrum adiit, uoti sui candelam cum tribus denariis obtulit, deoque ac pretaxatis sanctis martiribus gratias egit; beato Thome et beato Aedmundo super solatio grate societatis, sancto autem Willelmo de benefitio prestite sanitatis. Nobis denique diligentius aduentus sui causam sciscitantibus, ex ordine

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bury and that this other is blessed Edmund the king and martyr: but the blessed martyr William we have sent before us to Norwich, and there thou shalt find him." And with these words both of them vanished in a moment from the eyes of Gaufrid. Returning to himself, the more he thought upon the matter, the more was he perplexed to know how he had come to that place so quickly; and as he calculated the pace in his mind, he marvelled that he had felt no exertion. Naturally, as exertion had not been felt, no weariness followed. At the same time, while he remembered the sweetness of their converse, he grieved that so holy a company had left him. So, thanking God and the holy martyrs, he made haste to go to Bury[1], and entering the church, worshipped the tomb of the martyr and went to his inn. In the morning he arose, feeling some little result of yesterday's haste, but quickly accomplished the rest of the way on foot and speedily reached Norwich. He came to the sepulchre of the holy martyr William, offered the candle of his vow, and three pence, and gave thanks to God and the aforesaid holy martyrs, to blessed Thomas, and to blessed Edmund for the comfort of their gracious companionship, and to Saint William for the boon of restored health. To me, moreover, when I inquired the cause of his coming, he told the whole

[1] *Text* Bedricheswurche, i.e. Bedricsworth, the Saxon name of Bury.

rem gestam enarrauit, tumoris et explose signa cutis ostendit, sanusque in patriam rediit. Quem ego Thomas Cantuariam postmodum ueniens sanum et incolumem conspexi, et que ab ipso audieram ac uideram, multis protestantibus monachis et laicis, uerissima esse didici, et quoniam pretaxati uelocitas itineris mira et fere uirtuti humane uidebatur impossibilis, circa ueritatis indaginem studiosus et diligens fui. Vnde quod ueritatis hinc uel inde super hoc percepi, presenti pagine indidi. Nempe plures Cantuariensium testati sunt, quod exinde XVIII° Kal. Februarii ad peregrinandum profectus fuerit, et nos pro certo tenemus, quod XVII° Kal. Februarii Norwici ad sepulcrum sancti Willelmi uisus sit, atque ut planius edicam, uno die a Cantuaria pedem mouit, et altero Norwicum aduenit.

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story, showed the marks of the swelling and of the spot where the skin had broken, and returned whole to his native country.

Subsequently, I, Thomas, went to Canterbury, and saw him whole and well, and from the testimony of many monks and laymen ascertained the entire truth of the matters I had seen and heard from himself, and since the speed of the journey I have described seemed marvellous and almost beyond human powers, I took particular pains to investigate the facts of the case. Hence I have inserted in this work the details which I have gathered from various sources upon this head. A number of persons at Canterbury have testified that he set out from thence on pilgrimage on the 18th of the Kalends of February (15 January), while I hold it to be certain that he was seen at Norwich at the sepulchre of Saint William on the 17th of the Kalends of February (16 January): or, to put it more plainly, he started from Canterbury on one day and arrived at Norwich on the next.

CORRECTIONS.

p. 3. Transl., *But as this has not come to pass*, etc. Read: "*Still*, as this has not come to pass, I prefer that it should be I *rather* than no one. *And while*, in setting to work so boldly I confess myself open to the charge of presumption, *yet* let pardon be mine," etc.

p. 13. Transl., *the second, fourth, and sixth days.* Read: "Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays."

p. 17. Transl., *his mother, moved by presentiment, resisted, and in her motherly affection feeling some fear for her son.* Read: "his mother resisted, moved by presentiment," etc.

p. 18. Transl., *as the price of the innocent's service, or rather in truth as the price of his blood.* Read: "as the price of his service, or rather in truth as the price of innocent blood."

p. 19. Transl., *Thus the girl.* Read: "So the girl."

p. 21. Transl., *And cruel were they.* Read: "And so cruel were they."

p. 22. Transl., "*so in fact the deed was done* to *rather than by Christians.* Read: "Now the deed was done in this way, lest, if eventually the body were found, it should be discovered from the presence of nail-marks in both hands and both feet, that the murderers were Jews and not Christians."

p. 23. Text, l. 11. Bracket the word *dispensante*, which is redundant.

p. 24. Text, l. 6. The word *imitatores* is underlined for erasure in the MS.

p. 39. Text, l. 10. die *qua* mortis. So the MS.: read *quam.*

p. 40. Transl., *as I tell of this dream before thee who hearest me, I declare that I heard thee say.* Read: "when I told this dream in thy hearing, I remember that thou didst say."

p. 42. Transl., *Sometimes...sometimes.* Read: "on the one hand... on the other hand."

p. 43. Transl., *vouchsafe* to *indifference.* Read: "Vouchsafe for a short time with a patient bearing to receive the utterance of my complaint, which is no trifling one."

p. 48. Text, l. 10. *argumenti.* So the MS.: read *argenti.* Transl., strike out the words "*of getting a chance of arguing the cause.*"

p. 49. Transl., *took aside a certain priest.* Read: "took aside the priest." Godwin is meant.

p. 50. Transl., *brought by the venerable convent,* etc. Read: "was met by," etc.

p. 59. Text, l. 10. *quia.* So the MS.: read *qui.*

p. 67. Transl., l. 1. *manner*: read "matter."

p. 73, ll. 9, 10. *conspexerat. Eiusque*: read "*conspexerat, eiusque.*"

p. 77, l. 5. *Qua*: so the MS., read, *Quia.*

p. 86, l. 9. Dele comma after *quoniam.*

p. 88, l. 12. *ex habitudine dierum penalium.* We have rendered *penalium* as if the MS. read *paschalium*: and this is probably the proper reading. But the expression is noteworthy, and we should be glad of light on the point.

p. 98, l. 11. *transitus.* So the MS.: read, *transiturus.*

p. 116. Transl., *Tuesday*: read, "Monday."

p. 117, l. 16. *anglie*: read, *Anglie.*

p. 130, l. 6. *uni...uenerabili interrogauit.* So in the MS.: read, *unum...uenerabilem.*

pp. 139, 142, 168, 175. Transl., *secretary*: read, *sacrist.*

p. 150. Transl., *piety*: read, "pity."

p. 151, l. 6. *A ipso*: read, *Ab ipso.*

p. 153. Transl., *another*: read "the other."

p. 161. Transl., *offered her candle.* Add, "and returned full of hope for her recovery."

pp. 166, 173, notes. 1149: read, 1150.

p. 177, l. 4. *quartum.* So the MS.: read, *quartam.*

p. 185. The list of the chapters prefixed to Book V. is inconsistent in its numbering with the text. In the text, c. xvii. of the list is made into cc. xvii., xviii.

p. 192. Thomas has nowhere told us that the priest Godwin possessed the teazle.

p. 225, l. 17. *diuinam que.* Read, *diuinamque.*

p. 239, l. 10. *subistere.* Read, *subsistere.*

p. 252. Transl., l. 1. Read: "It then with a fearful hiss sent forth from its mouth a sulphurous vapour."

p. 258, note 2, *sub fin. Cornthope*: read "Courthope."

p. 262, l. 4. *mora cum, beatissimi*: read, *mora, cum beatissimi.*

p. 286. The Robert here mentioned is in all probability meant to be Robert the brother of St William.

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